Pietas in Patriam:

THE

LIFE

OF HIS

EXCELLENCY

Sir *William PHIPS*, Knt.

Late Captain General, and Governour in Chief of the Province of the *Massachusset*-Bay,

New England.

Containing the Memorable *Changes* Undergone, and *Actions* Performed by Him.

Written by one intimately acquainted with Him.

Discite Virtutem ex Hoc, verumque Laborem.

LONDON:

Printed by *Sam. Bridge* in *Austin-Friers*, for *Nath. Hiller* at the *Princes-Arms* in *Leaden-Hall Street*, over against St. *Mary-Ax*, 1697.

THE Author of the following Narrative, is a Perſon of ſuch well known Integrity, Prudence and Veracity, that there is not any cauſe to Queſtion the Truth of what he here Relates. And moreover, this Writing of his is adorned with a very grateful Variety of Learning, and doth contain ſuch ſurprizing workings of Providence, as do well deſerve due Notice and Obſervation. On all which accounts, it is with juſt Confidence recommended to the Publick by

April 27. 1697.

Nath. Mather,
John Howe,
Matth. Mead.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

8 E 6

To his Excellency the Earl of Bellomont, *Baron of* Coloony *in* Ireland, *General Governour of the Province of* Maſſachuſets *in* New England, *and the Provinces annexed.*

May it pleaſe your Excellency.

THE Station in which the Hand of the God of Heaven hath diſpoſed His Majeſties Heart to place your Honour, doth ſo manifeſtly entitle your Lordſhip to this inſuing Narrative, that its being thus Preſented to your Excellencies Hand is thereby both Apologized for and Juſtified. I believe, had the Writer of it, when he Penned it, had any Knowledge of your Excellency, he would himſelf have done it, and withal would have amply and publickly Congratulated the

People of *New England*, on account o
their having ſuch a Governour, an
your Excellency on account of your be
ing made Governour over them. Fo
though as to ſome other things it ma
poſſibly be a place to ſome Perſons no
ſo deſirable, yet I believe this Characte
may be juſtly given of them, that the
are the beſt People under Heaven; there
being among them, not only leſs of o-
pen Profaneneſs, and leſs of Lewdneſs,
but alſo more of the ſerious Profeſſion,
Practiſe, and Power of Chriſtianity in
proportion to their number, then is a-
mong any other People upon the Face
of the whole Earth. Not but I doubt,
there are many bad Perſons among them,
and too many diſtemper'd Humours, per-
haps even among thoſe who are truly
good. It would be a wonder, if it
ſhould be otherwiſe; for it hath of late
Years on various accounts, and ſome ve-
ry ſingular and unuſual ones, been a Day
of ſore Temptation with that whole
People. Nevertheleſs, as I look upon it as
a Favour from God to thoſe Plantations
that

hat he hath ſet your Excellency over hem, ſo I do account it a Favour from od to your Excellency, that he hath ommitted and truſted in your Hand, ſo reat a part of his peculiar Treaſure and recious Jewels, as are among that Peole. Beſides, that on other accounts the ord Jeſus hath more of a viſible Inteſt in *New England*, then in any of the utgoings of the *Engliſh* Nation in *Amea*. They have at their own Charge not nly ſet up Schools of lower Learning p and down the Country; but have alo erected an Univerſity, which hath een the happy Nurſery of many uſeful, earned, and excellently accompliſhed erſons. And moreover, from them ath the bleſſed Goſpel been Preached o the poor barbarous ſavage *Heathen* here, and it hath taken ſuch root among hem, that there were lately four and wenty Aſſemblies in which the Name f the Lord Jeſus was conſtantly called n, and celebrated in their own Lanuage. In theſe things *New England* utſhineth all the Colonies of the *Eng-*

liſh in thoſe goings down of the Sun. I know your Excellency will Favour and Countenance their Univerſity, and alſo the Propagating of the Goſpel among the Natives; for the Intereſt of Chriſt in that Part of the Earth is much concerned in them. That the God of the Spirits of all Fleſh would abundantly repleniſh your Excellency with a ſuitable Spirit for the Service to which he hath called your Lordſhip, that he would give your Honour a proſperous Voyage thither, and when there, make your Excellency a rich Bleſſing to that People, and them a rejoycing to your Excellency, is the Prayer of

April 27. 1697.

My Lord,

Your Excellencies moſt

Humble Servant.

Nath. Mather

THE

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THE

THE LIFE

Of His Excellency

Sir *William PHIPS*, Knt.

LATE GOVERNOUR OF

New England.

SECTION I.

IF such a Renowned Chymist, as *Quercetanus*, with a whole Tribe of *Labourers in the Fire*, since that Learned Man, find it no easie thing to make the common part of Mankind believe, That they can take a *Plant* in it's more vigorous Consistence, and after a due *Maceration*, *Fermentation* and *Separation*, extract the *Salt* of that *Plant*, which, as it were, in a *Chaos*, invisibly reserves the *Form* of the whole, with its vital Principle; and, that keeping the *Salt* in a *Glass*

Hermetically ſealed, they can, by applying a *Soft Fi*
to the *Glaſs*, make the *Vegetable* riſe by little and littl
out of its *Aſhes*, to ſurprize the Spectators with a not
ble Illuſtration of that *Reſurrection*, in the Faith wher
of the *Jews* returning from the Graves of their Friend
pluck up the *Graſs* from the Earth, uſing thoſe Wor
of the Scripture thereupon, *Your Bones ſhall flouriſh li*
an Herb : 'Tis likely, that all the Obſervations of ſuc
Writers, as the incomparable *Borellus*, will find it har
enough to produce our Belief, that the *Eſſential Sal*
of *Animals*, may be ſo prepared and Preſerved that a
Ingenious man, may have the whole *Ark* of *Noah*
his own Study, and raiſe the fine *ſhape* of an *Animal* out
it's Aſhes, at his pleaſure : and, that by the like M
thod, from the *Eſſential Salts* of *Humane Duſt*, a Philoſ
pher may, without any Criminal *Necromancy*, call
the *Shape* of any *Dead* Anceſtor from the Duſt whe
into his Body has bin Incinerated. The *Reſurrection*
the Dead, will be as Juſt, as Great an Article of o
Creed, although the *Relations* of theſe Learned Me
ſhould paſs for *Incredible Romances* : But yet there is a
Anticipation of that Bleſſed *Reſurrection*, carrying in
ſome Reſemblance of theſe *Curioſities*, which is perfor
ed, when we do in a *Book*, as in a *Glaſs*, reſerve t
Hiſtory of our Departed *Friends*, and by bringing o
Warm Affections unto ſuch an Hiſtory, we Revive,
it were out of their *Aſhes*, the True *Shape* of th
Friends, and bring to a freſh View, What was *Memora*
and *Imitable* in them. Now, in as much as *Mortality* h
done its part upon a Conſiderable Perſon, with whom
had the Honour to be Well-acquainted, and a Perſo
as *Memorable* for the Wonderful *Changes* which be
him, as *Imitable* for his *Vertues* and *Actions* under th
Changes, I ſhall endeavour with the *Chymiſtry* of an I
partial *Hiſtorian* to *raiſe* my Friend ſo far out of his *Aſ*
as to ſhew him again unto the World, and if the Cha
cter of *Heroick Vertue* be for a Man to *deſerve well of Ma*
kind, and be great in the Purpoſe and Succeſs of Eſſays,
do ſo, I may Venture to Promiſe my Reader ſuch Exa
ple of *Heroick Vertue*, in the Story whereto I Invi
hi

him, that he ſhall ſay, it would have bin little ſhort of a *Vice* in *me*, to have withheld it from him. Nor is it any *Partiality* for the Memory of my Deceaſed Friend or any other Siniſter Deſign whatſoever, that has Invited me to this Undertaking; but I have undertaken this Matter from a ſincere Deſire, that the Ever-Glorious Lord JESUS CHRIST may have the Glory of his *Power* and *Goodneſs*, and of his *Providence* in what he did for ſuch a Perſon, and in what He diſpoſed and Aſſiſted that Perſon to Do for Him. Now, *May He aſſiſt my writing, even He that prepared the Subject, whereof I am to write!*

SECT. 2.

SO *obſcure* was the *Original* of that Memorable Perſon, whoſe *Actions* I am going to relate, that I muſt, in a way of Writing, like that of *Plutarch*, prepare my Reader for the Intended Relation, by firſt ſearching the *Archives* of Antiquity for a *Parallel*. Now, becauſe we will not *Parallel* him with *Eumenes*, who, though he were the Son of a poor Carrier, became a Governour of Mighty Provinces; Nor with *Marius*, whoſe mean Parentage did not hinder his becoming a Glorious Defender of his Country, and Seven Times the chief Magiſtrate of the chiefeſt City in the Univerſe: Nor with *Iphicrates*, who became a Succeſsful and Renwoned General of a Great People, though his Father were a *Cobler*: Nor with *Dioclesian*, the Son of a poor *Scrivener*: Nor with *Bonoſus*, the Son of a poor *School-Maſter*, who yet came to ſway the Scepter of the *Roman* Empire: Nor laſtly, will I compare him to the more late Example of the Celebrated *Mazarini*, who though no Gentleman by his Extraction, and one ſo ſorily Educated, that he might have wrote *Man*, before he could write at all; yet aſcended unto that Grandeur, in the Memory of many yet living, as to Umpire the moſt Important Affairs of *Chriſtendom*: We will decline looking any further in that *Hæmiſphere* of the World, and make the *Hue and Cry* throughout the Regions of *America*, the

New World, which *He*, that is becoming the ſubject of our Hiſtory, by his *Nativity*, belong'd unto. And in *America*, the firſt that meets me, is *Franciſco Pizarro*, who, though a *Spurious Offspring*, expoſed when a *Babe*, in a Church-Porch, at a ſorry Village of *Navarre*, and afterwards employ'd while he was a *Boy*, in keeping of Cattel, yet, at length, ſtealing into *America*, he ſo thrived upon his Adventures there, that upon ſome Diſcoveries, which with an handful of Men, he had in a Deſperate Expedition made of *Peru*, he obtain'd the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion for the Conqueſt of it, and at laſt, ſo incredibly enricht himſelf by the Conqueſt, that he was made the firſt Vice-Roy of *Peru*, and created Marqueſs of *Anatilla*.

To the Latter and Higheſt Part of that Story, if any thing hindred His Excellency Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS* from affording of a *Parallel*, it was not the want either of *Deſign*, or of *Courage*, or of *Conduct* in himſelf, but it was the Fate of a *Præmature Mortality*. For my Reader now being ſatisfied, That a Perſon's being *Obſcure* in his *Original*, is not always a Juſt Prejudice to an Expectation of *Conſiderable Matters* from him; I ſhall now inform him, That this our *PHIPS* was Born *Feb.* 2. *A. Dom.* 1650. at a deſpicable Plantation on the River of *Kennebeck*, and almoſt the furtheſt Village of the Eaſtern Settlement of *New-England*. And as the *Father* of that Man, which was as great a Bleſſing as *Ergland* had in the Age of that Man, was a *Smith*, ſo a *Gun-Smith*, namely, *James Phips*, once of *Briſtol*, had the Honour of being the *Father* to him, whom we ſhall preſently ſee, made by the God of Heaven, as Great a Bleſſing to *New-Ergland*, as that Country could have had, if they themſelves had pleaſed. His fruitful *Mother*, yet living, had no leſs than *Twenty Six* Children, whereof *Twenty One* were Sons; but æquivalent to them all was *WILLIAM*, one of the youngeſt, whom his *Father* dying, left young with his *Mother*, and with her he lived, *keeping of Sheep in the Wilderneſs*, until he was Eighteen Years Old; at which Time, he began

gan to feel ſome further Diſpoſitions of Mind from that *Providence* of God which *took him from the Sheep-folds, from following the Ewes great with young, and brought him to feed his People.* Reader, Enquire no further who was his *Father?* Thou ſhalt anon ſee, that he was, as the *Italians* expreſs it, *A Son to his own Labours!*

SECT. 3.

HIS Friends earneſtly ſolicited him to ſettle among them in a Plantation of the *Eaſt*; but he had an Unaccountable *Impulſe* upon his Mind, perſwading him, as he would privately hint unto ſome of them, *That he was Born to Greater Matters.* To come at thoſe *Greater Matters*, his firſt Contrivance was to bind himſelf an Apprentice unto a *Ship-Carpenter* for Four Years; in which Time, he became a Maſter of the *Trade*, that once in a Veſſel of more than *Forty Thouſand Tuns*, Repaired the Ruines of the Earth. He then betook himſelf an Hundred and Fifty Miles further a Field, even to *Boſton*, the chief Town of *New-England*; which being a Place of the moſt Buſineſs and Reſort in thoſe parts of the World; he expected there more commodiouſly to purſue the *Spes Majorum & Meliorum, Hopes* which had Inſpir'd him. At *Boſton*, where it was that he now learnt, firſt of all, to *Read* and *Write*; he followed his Trade for about a Year; and, by a laudable Deportment, ſo recommended himſelf, that he Married a Young Gentlewoman of Good Repute, who was the Widow of one Mr. *John Hull*, a well-bred Merchant, but the Daughter of one Captain *Roger Spencer*, a Perſon of good Faſhion, who having ſuffer'd much dammage in his Eſtate, by ſome unkind and unjuſt actions, which he bore with ſuch Patience, that for fear of thereby injuring the Publick, he would not ſeek ſatisfaction, *Poſterity* might afterwards ſee the reward of his *patience*, in what Providence hath now done for one of his own *Poſterity*. Within a little while after his Marriage, he Indented with ſeveral

perſons in *Boſton*, to build them a Ship at *Sheeps-coat* River, two or three Leagues Eaſtward of *Kennebeck*; where having Lanched the Ship, he alſo provided a *Lading* of Lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the advantage of all concern'd. But juſt as the Ship was hardly finiſhed, the barbarous *Indians* on that River, broke forth into an Open and Cruel War upon the *Engliſh*; and the miſerable People, ſurpriſed by ſo ſudden a ſtorm of Bloud, had no Refuge from the Infidels, but the *Ship* now finiſhing in the Harbour. Whereupon, he left his intended *Lading* behind him, and inſtead thereof, carried with him, his Old Neighbours and their Families, free of all Charges to *Boſton*; So, the *Firſt Action* that he did, after he was his own Man, was to *Save his Fathers Houſe*, with the reſt of the Neighbourhood, from Ruine; but the Diſappointment which befel him from the Loſs of his other *Lading*, plunged his Affairs into greater Embaraſſments with ſuch as had employ'd him.

SECT. 4.

BUT he was hitherto, no more than beginning to make *Scaffolds* for further and higher *Actions!* He would frequently tell the Gentlewoman his Wife, That he ſhould yet be *Captain of a King's Ship*; That he ſhould come to have the *Command of better Men* than he was now accounted himſelf; And, That he ſhould be Owner of a *Fair Brick-Houſe* in the *Green-Lane* of *North-Boſton*; and, That it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to. She entertained theſe Paſſages with a ſufficient Incredulity; but he had ſo *ſerious* and *poſitive* an Expectation of them, that it is not eaſie to ſay, what was the *Original* thereof. He was of an Enterprizing *Genius*, and naturally diſdained *Littleneſs:* But his Diſpoſition for *Buſineſs* was of the *Dutch* Mould, where, with a little ſhew of *Wit*, there is as much *Wiſdom* demonſtrated, as can be ſhewn by any Nation. His Talent lay not in the *Airs*, that ſerve chiefly for the

the pleasant and sudden Turns of *Conversation*; but, he might say, as *Themistocles*, *Though he could not play upon a Fiddle, yet he knew how to make a little City become a Great One.* He would *prudently* contrive a weighty Undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the End. He was of an Inclination, cutting rather like a *Hatchet*, than like a *Razor*; he would propose very Considerable Matters to himself, and then so *cut through* them, that no Difficulties could put by the *Edge* of his Resolutions. Being thus of the *True Temper*, for doing of *Great Things*, he betakes himself to the *Sea*, the Right *Scene* for such Things; and upon Advice of a *Spanish Wreck* about the *Bahama's*, he took a Voyage thither; but with little more success, than what just served him a little to furnish him for a Voyage to *England*; whither he went in a Vessel, not much unlike that, which the *Dutchmen* stamped on their *First Coin*, with these Words about it, *Incertum quo Fata ferant.* Having first informed himself, that there was another *Spanish Wreck*, wherein was lost a mighty Treasure; hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong Impression upon his Mind, that *He* must be the Discoverer; and he made such Representations of his Design at *White-Hall*, that by the Year 1683, he became the Captain of *a King's Ship*, and arrived at *New-England*, Commander of the *Algier-Rose*, a Frigate of Eighteen Guns, and Ninety five Men.

SECT. 5.

TO Relate all the *Dangers* through which he passed, both by Sea and Land, and all the Tiresome Trials of his *Patience*, as well as of his *Courage*, while Year after Year, the most vexing Accidents imaginable, delay'd the Success of his Design, it would even Tire the patience of the Reader: For very great was the Experiment that Captain *Phips* made of the *Italian* Observation, *He that can't suffer both Good and Evil, will never come to any great Preferment.* Wherefore I shall supersede all *Journal* of his Voyages to and fro, with

reciting one Inſtance of his Conduct, that ſhow'd him to be a Perſon of no contemptible Capacity. While he was Captain of the *Algier-Roſe*, his Men growing weary of their unſucceſsful Enterprize, made a Mutiny, wherein they approach'd him on the Quarter-Deck, with Drawn Swords in their Hands, and required him to join with them in Running away with the Ship, to drive a Trade of Pyracy on the *South Seas*. Captain *Phips*, though he had not ſo much of a Weapon, as an *Ox-Goad*, or a *Jaw-bone* in his Hands, yet like another *Shamgar* or *Sampſon*, with a moſt undaunted Fortitude, he ruſh'd in upon them, and with the Blows of his bare Hands, *Fell'd* many of them, and *Quell'd* all the Reſt. But this is not the Inſtance which I intended: That which I intend is, That (as it has been related unto me) One Day, while his Frigate lay *Careening*, at a deſolate *Spaniſh* Iſland, by the ſide of a Rock, from whence they had laid a Bridge to the Shoar, the Men, whereof he had about an *Hundred*, went all but about Eight or Ten, to divert themſelves, as they pretended, in the *Woods*: Where, they all entred into an *Agreement*, which they Sign'd in a Ring, That about ſeven a Clock that Evening, they would ſeize the Captain, and thoſe Eight or Ten, which they knew to be True unto him, and leave them to periſh on this Iſland, and ſo be gone away unto the *South Sea* to *ſeek their Fortune*. Will the Reader now imagine, that Captain *Phips* having Advice of this Plot, but about an Hour and half before it was to be put in Execution, yet within *Two Hours* brought all theſe Rogues down upon their Knees, to beg for their lives? But ſo it was! For theſe Knaves conſidering, that they ſhould want a *Carpenter* with them in their *Villanous Expedition*, ſent a Meſſenger to fetch unto them the *Carpenter*, who was then at Work upon the Veſſel; and unto him they ſhew'd their *Articles*, telling him what he muſt look for, if he did not *ſubſcribe* among them. The *Carpenter* being an honeſt Fellow, did with much importunity, prevail for one half hours Time to conſider of the Matter; and returning to Work

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ork upon the Veſſel, with a *Spy* by them ſet upon
m, he feigned himſelf taken with a Fit of the *Cho-*
k, for the Relief whereof he ſuddenly run unto the
ptain in the Great Cabbin for a *Dram*; where,
hen he came, his buſineſs was only in brief, to tell
e Captain of the horrible Diſtreſs which he was
len into; but the Captain bid him as briefly, re-
rn to the Rogues in the *Woods*, and Sign their *Arti-*
s, and leave *him* to provide for the Reſt. The *Car-*
nter was no ſooner gone, but Captain *Phips* calling
gether the few Friends (it may be ſeven or eight)
at were left him aboard, whereof the Gunner was
e, demanded of them, whether they would ſtand by
m in the Extremity, which he informed them was
w come upon him; whereto they reply'd, *They*
uld ſtand by him, if he could ſave them; And he
nſwer'd, *By the help of God, he did not fear it.* All
eir Proviſions had been carried a ſhoar to a Tent,
ade for that purpoſe there; about which they had
aced ſeveral Great Guns to defend it, in caſe of any
ſault from *Spaniards*, that might happen to come
at way. Wherefore Captain *Phips*, immediately
dered thoſe Guns to be ſilently Drawn and Turn'd;
d ſo, pulling up the Bridge, he charged his Great
uns aboard, and brought them to Bear on every ſide
the Tent. By this Time the *Army of Rebels* comes
t of the Woods; but as they drew near to the Tent
Proviſions, they ſaw ſuch a change of Circum-
ances, that they cryed out, *We are Betray'd!* and
ey were ſoon confirm'd in it, when they heard the Cap-
in with a ſtern Fury call to them, *Stand off, ye*
retches at your Peril! He quickly ſaw them caſt
to a more than ordinary confuſion, when they ſaw
im ready to Fire his Great Guns upon them, if they
fered one Step further than he permitted them: And,
hen he had ſignified unto them his *Reſolve* to abandon
em unto all the Deſolation which they had pur-
ſed for *him*; he cauſed the *Bridge* to be again laid,
d his Men begun to take the Proviſions aboard.
hen the Wretches beheld what was coming upon
them,

them, they fell to very humble Entreaties; and a laſt, fell down upon their Knees, proteſting, *That the never had any thing againſt him, except only his unwillingneſs to go away with the King's Ship upon the* South Sea *Deſign: But upon all other Accounts, they would choo rather to Live and Die with him, than with any Man i the World; however, ſince they ſaw how much he w diſſatisfied at it, they would inſiſt upon it no more, an humbly begg'd his Pardon.* And when he judg'd, that h had kept them on their *Knees* long enough, he having firſt ſecur'd their *Arms*, received them aboard; bu he immediately weighed Anchor, and arriving at *Jamai ca*, he Turn'd them off. Now with a ſmall Compa ny of other Men, he ſailed from thence to *Hiſpaniola* where, by the Policy of his Addreſs, he fiſhed out o a very old *Spaniard*, (or *Portugueſe*) a little advic about the true Spot where lay the *Wreck*, which h had been hitherto ſeeking, as unproſperouſly, as th *Chymiſts* have their *Aurifick Stone:* That it was up on a *Reef of Skoals*, a few Leagues to the Northward of *Port de la Plata*, upon *Hiſpaniola*, a Port ſo call'd it ſeems, from the Landing of ſome of the *Ship-wreck'* Company, with a Boat full of Plate, ſaved out of thei Sinking Frigate: Nevertheleſs, when he had ſearched very narrowly the Spot, whereof the Old *Spaniar* had adviſed him, he not hitherto exactly lit upon it Such *Thorns* did vex his Affairs, while he was in th *Roſe-Frigat*; but none of all theſe things could retund the Edge of his Expectations to find the *Wreck*; with ſuch Expectations he return'd then into *England*, that he might there better furniſh himſelf to Proſecute a *New Diſcovery*; for though he judged, he might, by proceeding a little further, have come at the right *Spot* yet he found his preſent Company too ill a Crew to be confided in.

SECT. 6.

SO *proper* was his Behaviour, that the beſt Noble Men in the Kingdom, now admited him into their Con-

nverſation; but yet he was oppoſed by powerful emies, that Clogg'd his Affairs with ſuch Demurres, and ſuch *Diſappointments*, as would have wholly ſcouraged his Deſigns, if his Patience had not bin *incible*. *He who can wait, hath what he deſireth.* is his Indefatigable *Patience*, with a proportion*e Diligence*, at length overcame the Difficulties t had bin thrown in his way; and prevailing h the Duke of *Albemarl*, and ſome other Perſons Quality, to fit him out, he ſet Sail for the *Fiſhing-ound*, which had bin ſo well *baited*, half an Hundred ars before: And as he had already diſcovered his *pacity for buſineſs*, in many conſiderable Actions, he w added unto thoſe Diſcoveries, by not only *provid-* all, but alſo by *inventing* many of the Inſtruments ceſſary to the proſecution of his intended *Fiſhery*. ptain *Phips* arriving with a Ship and a *Tender*, at *rt de la Plata*, made a ſtout *Canoo* of a ſtately *Cot-Tree*, ſo large as to carry Eight or Ten Oars, for e making of which *Periaga* (as they call it) he did, th the ſame induſtry that he did every thing elſe, ploy his own *Hand* and *Adſe*, and endure no little rdſhip, lying abroad in the Woods many Nights to-ther. This *Periaga*, with the *Tender*, being Ancho-d at a place convenient, the *Periaga* kept Buſking to d again, but could only diſcover a *Reef of Riſing Shoals* ereabouts, called *The Boilers*, which Riſing to be thin Two or Three Foot of the Surface of the Sea, re yet ſo ſteep, that a Ship ſtriking on them, would mediately ſink down, who could ſay, *how many Fa-m?* into the Ocean. Here they could get no other y for their long *peeping* among the *Boilers*, but only ch as cauſed them to think upon returning to their ptain, with the *bad News* of their total Diſappoint-ent. Nevertheleſs, as they were upon the Return, e of the Men looking over the ſide of the *Periaga*, o the calm Water, he ſpied a *Sea Feather*, growing he judged, out of a Rock; whereupon they bad e of their *Indians* to Dive, and fetch this *Feather*, at they might however carry home *ſomething* with them,

them, and make, at leaſt, as fair a Triumph as C*gula*'s. The *Diver*, bringing up the *Feather*, brou therewithal a ſurprizing ſtory, That he perceived Number of *Great Guns* in the *Watry World* where had found his *Feather*; the *Report* of which *Great G* exceedingly aſtoniſhed the whole Company; and once, turned their *Deſpondencies* for their ill ſucceſs, to *Aſſurances*, that they had now lit upon the *True* of Ground which they had been looking for; and th were further confirmed in theſe *Aſſurances*, when u further Diving, the *Indian* fetcht up a *Sow*, as t ſtil'd it, or a Lump of Silver, worth perhaps, Two Three Hundred Pounds. Upon this they prudent *Buoy'd* the place, that they might readily find it agai And they went back unto their Captain, whom ſome while, they diſtreſſed with nothing but ſuch *News*, as they formerly thought they muſt have ca ed him: Nevertheleſs they ſo ſlipt in the Sow Silver, on one ſide under the Table, where they w now ſitting with the Captain, and hearing him preſs his Reſolutions to wait ſtill patiently upon t Providence of God under theſe Diſappointments, th when he ſhould look on one ſide, he might ſee that *O Thing* before him. At laſt he *ſaw* it; ſeeing it, cryed out with ſome Agony, *Why? What is thi Whence comes this?* And then, with changed Count nances, they told him *how*, and *where* they got i *Then*, ſaid he, *Thanks be to God! We are made*; A ſo, away they went, all hands to Work; wherein th had this one further piece of Remarkable Proſperit that whereas, if they had firſt fallen upon that pa of the *Spaniſh Wreck*, where the Pieces of Eight h been ſtowed in Bags among the Ballaſt, they had ſe a more laborious, and leſs enriching time of it: No moſt happily, they firſt fell upon that Room in t *Wreck*, where the *Bullion* had been ſtored up; and the ſo proſpered in this *New Fiſhery*, that in a little whi they had, without the loſs of any Man's Life, brough up *Thirty Two Tuns* of Silver; for it was now come t meaſuring of Silver by *Tuns*. Beſides which, one *A* *der*

y of *Providence*, who had formerly been very help-
to Captain *Phips* in the Search of this *Wreck*, did
n former Agreement meet him now, with a little
ſel here; and *he*, with his few hands, took up about
Tuns of Silver; whereof nevertheleſs, he made ſo
e uſe, that in a year or two, he died at *Bermudas*,
as I have heard, he ran *Diſtracted* ſome while be-
e he died. Thus did there once again, come into
Light of the Sun, a Treaſure which had been half an
ndred Years *groaning under the Waters*: And in this
e, there was grown upon the Plate, a Cruſt like
eſtone, to the thickneſs of ſeveral Inches; which
ſt being broken open, by Irons contrived for that
poſe, they knockt out whole Buſhels of rufty Pieces of
ht, which were grown thereinto. Beſides that in-
dible Treaſure of Plate in various forms, thus fetch'd
from ſeven or eight Fathom under Water, there
e vaſt Riches of *Gold* and *Pearls* and *Jewels*, which
y alſo lit upon; and indeed, for a more Compre-
ſive *Invoice*, I muſt but ſummarily ſay, *All that a*
niſh *Frigate uſes to be enricht withal*. Thus did
y continue *Fiſhing* till their Proviſions failing them,
as time to be gone; but before they went, Captain
ps cauſed *Adderly* and his Folk to ſwear, That they
uld none of them Diſcover the place of the *Wreck*,
come to the Place any more till the next Year, when
expected again to be there himſelf. And it was alſo
markable, that though the Sows came up ſtill ſo
, that on the very laſt Day of their being there,
y took up *Twenty*, yet it was afterwards found, that
y had in a manner wholly cleared that Room of
Ship, where thoſe *Maſſy things* were Stowed.
But there was one extraordinary Diſtreſs which
ptain *Phips* now found himſelf plunged into: For
Men were come out with him upon Seamens Wages,
o much *per* Month; and when they ſaw ſuch vaſt
ters of Silver *Sows* and *Pigs*, as they call them,
ne on Board them, at the Captains Call, they knew
how to bear it, that they ſhould not *ſhare* all among
mſelves, and be gone to lead *a ſhort life and a merry*,

in

in a Climate, where the Arreſt of thoſe that had l
them, ſhould not reach them. In this terrible
ſtreſs, he made his Vows unto Almighty God, th
the Lord would carry him ſafe home to *England*,
what *he* had now given him, *to ſuck of the abunda*
the Seas, and of the Treaſures hid in the Sands, he w
for ever Devote himſelf unto the Intereſts of the
Jeſus Chriſt, and of his People, eſpecially in the C
which he did himſelf Originally belong unto. A
then uſed all the obliging *Arts* imaginable, to
his Men true unto him, eſpecially by aſſuring t
that beſides their *Wages*, they ſhould have ampl
quitals made unto them; which if the reſt of his
ployers would not agree unto, he would himſelf d
bute his *own ſhare* among them. Relying upon
Word of One, whom they had ever found worth
their *Love*, and of their *Truſt*, they declared t
ſelves *Content*: But ſtill keeping a moſt careful
upon them, he haſtned back for *England*, with as
Money as he thought he could then ſafely *Truſ*
Veſſel withal; not counting it ſafe to ſupply h
with neceſſary Proviſions at any nearer Port, a
return unto the *Wreck*, by which delays, he
feared leſt all might be loſt, more ways than
Though he alſo left ſo much behind him, that
from divers parts made very conſiderable Voyag
Gleanings after his *Harveſt*: which came to pa
certain *Bermudians*, compelling of *Adderly*'s Boy, w
they *ſpirited* away with them, to tell them the
place where the *Wreck* was to be found. Ca
Phips now coming up to *London*, in the Year
with near *Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſterling* ab
him, did acquit himſelf with ſuch an Exemplary
neſty, that partly by his fulfilling his Aſſuranc
the Seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual
to have his Employers defrauded of nothing that
conſcientiouſly belong unto them, he had leſs
ſixteen Thouſand pounds left unto himſelf: As an ack
ledgment of which *Honeſty* in him, the Duke of
marl made unto his Wife, whom he never ſaw, a

t of a *Golden Cup*, near a Thouſand Pound in value. e Character of an *Honeſt Man*, he had ſo merited the whole Courſe of his Life, and eſpecially in this t act of it, that this, in conjunction with his other viceable Qualities, procured him the Favours of the reateſt Perſons in the Nation; And *He that had n ſo diligent in his Buſineſs, muſt now ſtand before ngs, and not ſtand before mean Men*, There were indeed, tain *mean Men*, if baſe, little, dirty Tricks will enti- Men to Meanneſs, who urged the King, to ſeize his *ole Cargoe*, inſtead of the Tenths, upon his firſt rival; on this pretence, that he had not been right- inform'd of the *True ſtate of the Caſe*, when he anted the *Patent*, under the Protection whereof eſe *particular Men* had made themſeves Maſters of this Mighty Treaſure; but the King replied, That had been *rightly informed* by Captain *Phips* of the ole matter, as it now proved, and that it was the nders of one then preſent, which had, unto his mmage, hindred him from hearkning to the In- rmation: Wherefore he would give them, he ſaid, Diſturbance, they might keep what they had got; t Captain *Phips*, he ſaw, was a Perſon of that Ho- ſty, Fidelity and Ability, that he ſhould not want his ountenance. Accordingly the King, in conſideration the Service done by him, in bringing ſuch a Trea- e into the Nation, conferr'd upon him the Honour *Knighthood*; And if we now reckon him, *A Knight the Golden Fleece*, the Stile might pretend unto me circumſtances that would juſtifie it. Or call n, if you pleaſe, *The Knight of Honeſty*; for it was *oneſty* with *Induſtry*, that Raiſed him; and he be- me a Mighty River, without the running in of uddy Water to make him ſo. Reader, Now make Pauſe, and behold, *One Raiſed by God!*

SECT. 7.

I am willing to Employ the Teſtimonies of others, much as may be, to ſupport the Credit of my Hiſtory

ſtory: And therefore, as I have hitherto related
more than what there are *Others* enough to avou
Thus I ſhall chooſe the Words of an Ingenious Pe
Printed at *London* ſome Years ago, to expreſs the S
of what remains, whoſe Words are theſe, 'It has
'ways been Sir *William Phips*'s Diſpoſition to ſeek
'*Wealth* of his People with as great Zeal and Unw
'riedneſs, as our *Publicans* uſe to ſeek their *Loſs*
'*Ruine*. At firſt it ſeems, they were in hopes to
'this Gentleman to their Party, as thinking him
'*Natur'd*, and eaſie to be flattered out of his Un
'ſtanding; and the more, becauſe they had the ad
'tage of ſome, no very good Treatment that Sir *W*
'*am* had formerly met with, from the People and
'vernment of *New-England*. But Sir *William*
'ſhewed them, that what they expected would b
'*Temptation* to lead them into their *little Tricks*, he
'braced as a Glorious Opportunity to ſhew his *Ge*
'*ſity* and *Greatneſs of Mind*; for, in Imitation o
'Greateſt Worthies that have ever been, he ra
'choſe to join in the Defence of his Country,
'ſome Perſons, who formerly were none of his Fri
'than become the Head of a *Faction*, to its Ruine
'Deſolation. It ſeems this Noble Diſpoſition o
'*William*, joined with that Capacity and good Su
'wherewith he hath been attended, in Raiſing hi
'by ſuch an Occaſion, as it may be, all things
'dered, has *never happened to any before him*, makes
'Men apprehenſive; ——— And it muſt needs heig
'their trouble to ſee, that he neither hath, nor
'ſpare himſelf, nor any thing that is near and dear
'him, in promoting the Good of his Native C
'try.

When Sir *William Phips* was *per ardua & aſpera*,
Raiſed into an *Higher Orb*, it might eaſily be tho
that he could not be without Charming Temptat
to take the *way on the left hand*. But as the Grac
God kept him in the midſt of none of the ſtri
Company, unto which his Affairs daily led him,
abandoning himſelf to the lewd Vices of *Gaming*, *D*

, *Swearing* and *Whoring*, which the Men *that made* gland *to ſin*, debauch'd ſo many of the Gentry into, l he deſerved the ſalutations of the *Roman* Poet:

Cum Tu, inter ſcabiem tantam, & Contagia Lucri,
Nil parvum ſapias, & adhuc Sublimia cures:

Thus, he was worthy to paſs among the Inſtances *Heroick Vertue* for that *Humility* that ſtill Adorned n: He was *Raiſed*, and though he prudently ac-mmodated himſelf to the *Quality* whereto he was *Raiſed*, yet none could perceive him to be *Lift-up*. Or, if this were not *Heroick*, yet I will late one Thing more of him, that muſt certainly accounted ſo. He had in his own Country of *New-gland*, met with *Provocations*, that were enough to ve Alienated any man Living that had no more n *Fleſh and Blood* in him, from the Service of it; ſome that were Enemies to that Country, now hard at him to join with them, in their Endeavours Raviſh away their *Ancient Liberties*. But this *Gen-man* had ſtudied another way to *Revenge* himſelf on his Country, and that was to ſerve it, in all *its* ereſts, with all of *his*, even with his *Eſtate*, his *e*, his *Care*, his *Friends*, and his very *Life!* The d *Heathen* Vertue of PIETAS IN PATRIAM, or, *VE TO ONES COUNTRY*, he turned into *Chri-n*; and ſo notably exemplified it, in all the Reſt of *Life*, that it will be an Eſſential *Threed* which is be now interwoven into all that remains of his *ſtory*, and his *Character*. Accordingly though he had Offers of a very Gainful Place among the *Commiſ-ers of the Navy*, with many other Invitations to ſettle nſelf in *England*, nothing but a Return to *New-gland* would content him. And whereas the Char-s of *New-England* being taken away, there was a overnour Impoſed upon the Territories with as *rbitrary*, and as *Treaſonable* a *Commiſſion* perhaps, as ever s heard of; a *Commiſſion*, by which the Governour, th Three or Four more, none of whom were choſen

by the People, had Power to make what *Laws* the would, and Levy *Taxes*, according to their own H mours, upon the people; and he himſelf had Pow to ſend the Beſt men in the Land, more than Te Thouſand miles out of it, as he pleaſed: And in t Execution of his Power, the Country was every d ſuffering Intollerable *Invaſions* upon their *Proprieti* yea, and the Lives of the Beſt Men in the Territory beg to be practiſed upon: Sir *William Phips* applied himſ to Conſider what was the moſt ſignificant Thi that could be done by him for that poor people, their preſent Circumſtances. Indeed, when King *Jam* offered, as he did, unto Sir *William Phips* an Opport nity to Ask what he pleaſed of Him, Sir *William* Ge rouſly prayed for nothing but *This*, *That New-Engla might have its Loſt Priviledges Reſtored.* The Ki then Replied, *Any Thing but that!* whereupon he ſet hi ſelf to Conſider what was the *Next Thing*, that he mig Ask for the ſervice, not of himſelf but of his *Count* The Reſult of his Conſideration was, That by Petition the King, he Obtained, with Expence of ſome Hu dreds of *Guinea's*, a *Patent*, which conſtituted him *High Sheriff of that Country*; Hoping, by his Deputi in that Office, to ſupply the Country ſtill with Co ſcientious Juries, which was the Only Method that t *New-Englanders* had left them, to ſecure any thing th was Dear unto them. Furniſhed with this *Patent* aft he had in Company with Sir *John Narborough*, ma a Second Viſit unto the *Wreck* (not ſo advantageo as the former, for a Reaſon already mentioned) his way he Returned unto *New-England*, in the Su mer of the Year 1688. able, after Five Years A ſence, to Entertain his Lady with ſome Accompli ment of his Predictions; and then Built himſelf a *F Brick Houſe* in the very *place*, which wee foretol the Reader can tell how many *Sections* ago. But t *Infamous Government* then Rampant there, found way wholly to put by the Execution of this *Patem* yea, he was like to have had his *Perſon* aſſaſſinated i the face of the Sun, before his own Door, which wi

th ſome further Deſigns then in his Mind, cauſed m, within a few Weeks to take another Voyage for *gland.*

SECT. 8.

IT Would require a long Summers-Day to Relate e miſeries which were come, and coming in upon or *New-England*, by reaſon of the *Arbitrary Govern-nt* then Impoſed on them; A *Government* wherein, Old *Wendover* ſays of the Time, when *Strangers* re domineering over *Subjects* in *England*, *Judicia mmittebantur Injuſtis*, *Leges Exlegibus*, *Pax Diſcor-ntibus*, *Juſtitia Injuriojis*; and *Foxes* were made the dminiſtrators of Juſtice to the *Poultrey*; yet ſome *bridgement* of them is neceſſary for the better under-anding of the Matters yet before us. Now, to make is *Abridgment* Impartial, I ſhall only have Recourſe to a Little Book, Printed at *London*, under the Title *The Revolution* of New-England *Juſtified*; wherein e have a *Narrative of the Grievances* under the Male dminiſtrations of that Government, written and ſign-by the chief Gentlemen of the *Governour's Council*; gether with the *Sworn Teſtimonies* of many Good men, prove the Several Articles of the *Declaration*, which e *New-Englanders* publiſhed againſt their Oppreſſors. is in that Book demonſtrated.

That, the Governour neglecting the Greater Num-er of his *Council*, did Adhere principally to the Ad-ice of a *few Strangers*, who were perſons without any *tereſt*, in the Country, but of Declared *Prejudice* gainſt it, and had plainly laid their *Deſigns* to make an nreaſonable *Profit* of the poor people: and *four* or *five* erſons had the Abſolute Rule *over a Territory, the moſt onſiderable of any belonging to the Crown.*

That when *Laws* were propoſed in the *Council*, tho the *ajor* part at any time Diſſented from them, yet, if he Governour were poſitive, there was no fair *Coun-ing* the Number of *Councellors* Conſenting, or Diſſen-ing, but the Laws were immediatly *Engroſſed, publiſhed* nd *Executed.*

That, This *Junto* made a *Law*, which prohibited th Inhabitants of any *Town*, to meet about their *Town Affairs*, above *once* in a year; for fear, you muſt Note of their having any opportunity to Complain of *Gri vances.*

That they made another *Law*, requiring all Maſter of *Veſſels*, even *Shallops*, and *Wood-boats* to give *Securi* that no Man ſhould be Tranſported in them, exce his Name had been ſo many Days poſted up: where by the Pockets of a few *Leeches* had been filled wit *Fees*, but the whole Trade of the Country deſtroyed and all Attempts to obtain a *Redreſs* of theſe Thin obſtructed; And when this *Act* had been ſtrenuouſly o poſed in Council at *Boſton*, they carried it as far *New-York*, where a Crew of them enacted it.

That, without any *Aſſembly*, they Levied on the Pe ple, a *penny* in the pound of all their *Eſtates*, an Twenty-pence *per* Head, as *Poll-money*, with a penn in the Pound for *Goods* Imported, beſides a Vaſt *Ex ciſe* on Wine, Rum and other *Liquors.*

That, when among the Inhabitants of *Ipſwich*, ſom of the Principal Perſons modeſtly gave Reaſons, wh they could not chooſe a *Commiſſioner* to *Tax* the Tow until the King ſhould firſt be Petitioned for the Liber of an *Aſſembly*, they were committed unto *Gaol* for i as an *High Miſdemeanour*, and were denied an *Habe Corpus*, and were drag'd many Miles out of their ow County to anſwer it at a Court in *Boſton*; where *Ju rors* were pickt for the Turn, that were not *Freeholder* nay, that were meer *ſojourners*; and when the Priſo ners pleaded the Priviledges of *Engliſh*-men, *That the ſhould not be Taxed without their own conſent*, they were old, *That thoſe things would not follow them to the end of the earth:* As it had been before told them in *ope Council*, no one in the Council contradicting it, *Yo have no more Priviledges left you, but this, that you are n bought and ſold for Slaves:* And in fine, they were a *fined* ſeverely, and laid under great *Bonds* for thei Good Behaviour; beſides all which, the *hungry Officer* extorted *Fees* from them that amounted unto an Hun dred

ed and Threescore Pounds, whereas in *England*, upon like Prosecution, the *Fees* would not have been Ten unds in all. After which fashion the *Townsmen* of ny other Places were also served.

That These Men giving out, That the *Charters* being t, all the Title that the People had unto their Lands, s lost with them; they began to *compel* the People ry where, to take *Patents* for their Lands: And ordingly *Writs of Intrusion* were issued out against chief Gentlemen in the Territory, by the Terror ereof, many were actually driven to Petition for *Pa-s*, that they might quietly enjoy the Lands that had n fifty or sixty Years in their possession. But for se *Patents*, there were such exorbitant Prices de-nded, that Fifty Pounds could not purchase for its ner, an Estate not worth *Two Hundred*, nor could the Money and Moveables in the Territory have rayed the Charges of *Patenting* the Lands, at the nds of these *Crocodiles:* besides the considerable *t-Rents* for the King. Yea, the Governour caused Lands of *particular persons* to be measured out, and en to his Creatures: And some of his Council Pe-oned for the *Commons* belonging to several Towns; the *Agents* of the Towns, going to get a *voluntary scription* of the Inhabitants to maintain their Title Law, they have been dragg'd Forty or Fifty Miles, answer as Criminals at the next Assizes; the Offi-s, in the mean time, extorting three Pounds *per* Man, fetching them.

That, if these *Harpies*, at any Time, were a little *of Money*, they found ways to Imprison the *best* in the Countrey; and there appeared not the least *ormation* of any Crime exhibited against them, yet y were put unto Intollerable Expences by these eedy Oppressors, and the Benefit of an *Habeas pus* not allowed unto them.

That pack't and pick't *Juries* were Commonly made of, when under a Pretended *Form of Law*, the ouble of some Honest and Worthy Men, was aimed and these also were hurried out of their own Coun-

Counties to be tried, when *Juries* for the Turn were not like to be found there. The *Greateſt Rigor* being uſed ſtill towards the *ſobereſt ſort* of peopl whilſt in the mean time the moſt horrid Enormities in the World committed by Others, were ove look'd.

That, The publick Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and *Schools of Learning*, were diſcountenanced unto t Utmoſt.

And ſeveral more ſuch abominable things, too n torious to be denied, even by a *Randolphian* impuden it ſelf, are in that Book proved againſt that *unha Government*. Nor did that moſt Ancient Sett of t *Phœnician Shepherds*, who ſcrued the Government *Egypt* into their Hands, as Old *Manethon* tells us, their *Villanies*, during the Reigns of thoſe Tyran make a *Shepherd* more of an *Abomination* to the Eg *tians* in all after-Ages, than theſe *Wolves* under t Name of *Shepherds* have made the Remembrance their *French Government*, an *Abomination* to all Poſteri among the *New-Englanders:* A *Government*, for whi now, Reader, as faſt as thou wilt, get ready this E taph:

Nulla quæſita Scelere Potentia diuturna.

It was under the Reſentments of theſe Things, t Sir *William Phips*, returned into *England*, in the y 1688. In which *Twice-Wonderful-Year*, ſuch a *Revolu* was wonderfully accompliſhed upon the whole Gover ment of the *Engliſh* Nation, that *New-England*, which h been a *Specimen* of what the whole Nation was to lo for, might juſtly hope for a ſhare in the General De verance. Upon this Occaſion Sir *William* offered beſt Aſſiſtances unto that Eminent Perſon, who a lit before this Revolution, betook himſelf unto *White-H* that he might there lay hold on all Opportunities procure ſome Relief unto the Oppreſſions of that affli ed Country. But ſeeing the *New-Engliſh* Affairs in able an Hand, he thought the beſt Stage of *Action*

would now be *New-England* it ſelf; and ſo with
in Inſtructions from none of the leaſt conſiderable
ons at *White-Hall*, what Service to do for his Coun-
n the Spring of the Year 1689 he haſtened back
it. Before he left *London*, a Meſſenger from the
cated King tender'd him the Government of *New-*
nd, if he would accept it: But as that excellent
rney General Sir *William Jones*, when it was pro-
that the *Plantations* might be Governed without
blies, told the King, *That he could no more Grant a*
miſſion to levy Money on his Subjects there, without
conſent by an Aſſembly, than they could Diſcharge them-
from their Allegiance to the Engliſh *Crown*. So
William Phips thought it his Duty to refuſe a *Go-*
nent without an Aſſembly, as a thing that was Trea-
the very *Eſſence* of it, and inſtead of Petitioning
ucceeding Princes, that his *Patent* for *High Sheriff*
t be rendred Effectual, he joined in Petitions,
New-England might have its own Old *Patent* ſo
ored, as to render Ineffectual *that*, and all other
ts that might cut ſhort any of it's Ancient Privi-
s. But when Sir *William* arrived at *New-England*,
ound a New Face of Things; For about an Hun-
Indians in the *Eaſtern parts* of the Country,
unaccountably begun a War upon the *Engliſh*, in
1688. and though the Governour then in the
rn Parts, had immediate Advice of it, yet he not
delayed and neglected all that was neceſſary for
Publick Defence, but alſo when he at Laſt returned,
anifeſted a moſt Furious Diſpleaſure againſt thoſe
e Council, and all others that had forwarded any
hing for the ſecurity of the Inhabitants; while
e ſame time, he diſpatched ſome of his Creatures
ſecret Errands unto *Canada*, and ſet at Liberty
of the moſt Murderous *Indians* which the *Engliſh*
eized upon.

his Conduct of the Governour, which is in a
ed Remonſtrance of ſome of the Beſt Gentlemen
he Council, complained of, did extreamly diſſatisfy
Suſpicious People: Who were doubtleſs more

ex-

extream in ſome of their *Suſpicions*, than there
any *real Occaſion* for: But the Governour at len
raiſed an Army of a *Thouſand Engliſh* to Conquer
Hundred Indians; and this Army, whereof ſome
the chief Commanders were *Papiſts*, underwent
Fatigues of a Long, and a cold Winter, in the
Caucaſæan Regions of the Territory, till, without
Killing of *One Indian*, there were more of the
People Killed, than they had Enemies there Al
This added, not a Little to the Diſſatisfaction of
People, and it would much more have done ſo if
had ſeen what the World had not *yet* ſeen of
Suggeſtions made by the *Iriſh Catholicks* unto
Late King, publiſhed in the Year 1691, In
Account of the State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, Li
ſed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, whereof one Article
in theſe Expreſs Terms, *That if any of the* Iriſh c
have their Lands in Specie, but money in Lieu, ſome of
may Tranſport themſelves into America, *poſſibly near*
England, *to check the Growing* Independants *of*
Country: Or if they had ſeen what was afterw
ſeen, in a Letter from K. *James* to His *Holineſs*,
they ſtile His *Fooliſhneſs*) the Pope of *Rome*; Th
was his Full purpoſe to have Set up *Roman-Cath*
Religion, in the Engliſh Plantations of *America*:
after all, there is cauſe to think, that there was
made of the *Suſpicions* then flying like Wild-fire a
the Country, than a ſtrong *Charity* would have C
tenanced. When the People were under theſe *Fri*
they had got by the Edges a Little Intimation of
then Prince of *Orange's* glorious Undertaking to del
England, from the *Feared* Evils, which were alre
felt by *New-England*; but when the Perſon,
brought over a Copy of the Princes *Declaration*,
Impriſoned for bringing into the Country a *Tr*
onable Paper, and the Governour, by his Proclamat
Required all Perſons, to uſe their *utmoſt-Endeav*
to hinder the *Landing* of any whom the Prince mi
ſend thither, *This* put them almoſt out of Patie
And One thing, that plunged the more Conſide

ons in the Territory, into uneasy Thoughts, was he *Faulty Action* of some Souldiers, who upon the Common *Suspicions*, deserted their *Stations* in the Army, and caused their Friends to gather together ere and there in Little Bodies, to protect from the Demands of the Governour, their poor Children and retheren, whom they thought bound for a *Bloody acrifice:* and there were also belonging to the *Rose-rigat* some that Buzz'd surprizing stories about Bo-*on*, of many mischiefs to be thence expected. Where-ore, some of the Principal Gentlemen in *Boston* onsulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary unCture, They all agreed that they would, if it were ossible, extinguish all Essays, in the People towards n *Insurrection*; in daily Hopes of Orders from *England* or their Safety: but that if the Country People, y any violent motions push'd the matter on so far, s to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, Then, to pre-ent the shedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned *Mobile*, ome of the Gentlemen present, should appear at the Head of the *Action*, with a *Declaration* accordingly pre-ared. By the *eighteenth* of *April* 1689. Things were ushed on so far by the People, that certain Persons irst Seized the Captain of the *Frigate*, and the Rumor hereof running like Lightning through *Boston*, the hole Town was immediately in Arms, with the most *nanimous Resolution* perhaps, that ever was known to ave Inspir'd any People. They then seized those Vretched Men, who by their innumerable *Extortions* nd *Abuses*, had made themselves the Objects of *Uni-ersal Hatred*; not giving over till the *Governour* him-elf was become their *Prisoner:* The whole *Action* be-ng managed without the least *Bloudshed* or *Plunder*, nd with as much *Order* as ever attended any *Tumult*, t may be, in the World. Thus did the *New-England-rs* assert their Title to the Common Rights of *En-glishmen*; and except the Plantations are willing to Degenerate from the Temper of True *Englishmen*, or except the *Revolution* of the whole *English* Nation be condemned, their *Action* must so far be justified. On

their late *Oppreſſors*, now under juſt Confinement, the took no other ſatisfaction, but ſent them over unt *White-Hall*, for the Juſtice of the King and Parliamen And when the Day for the *Anniverſary Election*, by the vacated *Charter* drew near, they had many Debates int what Form they ſhould caſt the Government, which w till then, Adminiſtred by a *Committee for the Conſervati of the Peace*, compoſed of Gentlemen, whoſe *Hap* it w to appear in the Head of the late *Action*; But their De bates Iſſued in this Concluſion, That the *Governour* an *Magiſtrates*, which were in Power, before the late *Uſu pation*, ſhould Reſume their Places, and apply themſelv unto the *Conſervation of the Peace*, and put forth wh *Acts of Government* the Emergencies might make needf for them, and thus to wait for further Directions fro the Authority of *England*. So was there Accompliſhe a *Revolution*, which delivered *New-England* from grievou Oppreſſions, and which was moſt Graciouſly Accepte by the *King* and *Queen*, when it was Reported unto The Majeſties. But there were New Matters for Sir *Willi Phips*, in a little while, now to think upon.

SECT. 9.

BEHOLD the great Things which were done b the Sovereign God, for a Perſon, once, as little in h *own Eyes*, as in *other Men's*. All the Returns which h had hitherto made unto the *God of his Mercies*, were b Preliminaries to what remain to be Related. It has bee the Cuſtom in the Churches of *New-England*, ſtill t expect from ſuch Perſons, as they admitted unto conſta Communion with them, That they do not only Publick and Solemnly *Declare* their *Conſent* unto the *Covenan Grace*, and particularly to thoſe Duties of it, wherein *particular Church-ſtate* is more immediately concerne but alſo firſt Relate unto the *Paſtors*, and by them unt the *Brethren*, the ſpecial Impreſſions which the *Grace* God has made upon their Souls in bringing them to th *Conſent*. By this *Cuſtom* and *Caution*, though they ca

ot keep *Hypocrites* from their Sacred Fellowſhip, yet hey go as far as they can, to render and preſerve themelves *Churches of Saints*, and they do further very much *difie one another*. When Sir *William Phips* was now reurned unto his *own Houſe*, he began to bethink himſelf, ke *David*, concerning the *Houſe* of the *God*, who had rrounded him with ſo many Favours in *his own*; and ccordingly he applied himſelf unto the *North Church* in *oſton*, that with his open Profeſſion of his hearty Subction to the *Goſpel* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he might ave the *Ordinances* and the *Priviledges* of the *Goſpel*, aded unto his other Enjoyments. One thing that quicked his Reſolution to do what might be in this Matter xpected from him, was a Paſſage which he heard from Miniſter, Preaching on the Title of the *Fifty Firſt* ſalm: *To make a publick and an open Profeſſion of Repennce, is a thing not miſ-becoming the greateſt Man alive. is an Honour to be found among the Repenting People of od, though they be in Circumſtances never ſo full of Sufferg. A famous Knight going with other Chriſtians to be rowned with Martyrdom, obſerved, That his Fellow-Sufferrs were in Chains, from which the Sacrificers had, becauſe his Quality, excus'd him; whereupon he demanded, that might wear Chains as well as they.* For, *ſaid he*, I ould be a Knight of that Order too; *There is among r ſelves a repenting People of God, who by their Conſſions at their Admiſſions to His Table, do ſignalize their ing ſo; and Thanks be to God, that we have ſo little of ffering in our Circumſtances. But if any Man count himf grown too big to be a* Knight of that Order, *the Lord eſus Chriſt Himſelf, will one Day be aſhamed of that Man!* pon this Excitation, Sir *William Phips* made his Adreſs unto a *Congregational-Church*, and he had therein ne Thing to propound unto himſelf, which few Perſons his Age, ſo well ſatisfied in *Infant-Baptiſm* as he was, ve them to Ask for. Indeed, in the Primitive Times, though the *Lawfulneſs* of *Infant-Baptiſm*, or the Prept and Pattern of *Scripture* for it, was never ſo much once made a Queſtion, yet we find *Baptiſm* was frently delayed by Perſons, upon ſeveral ſuperſtitious

and unreaſonable Accounts, againſt which we have ſuch Fathers as *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and others, employing a variety of Argument. But Sir *William Phips* had hitherto delayed his *Baptiſm*, becauſe the Years of his Child-hood were ſpent where there was no ſettled Miniſter, and therefore, he was now not only willing to attain a good Satisfaction of his own Internal and Practical *Chriſtianity* before his receiving that *Mark* thereof, but he was alſo willing to receive it among thoſe *Chriſtians*, that ſeemed moſt ſenſible of the *Bonds* which it laid them under. Offering himſelf therefore, firſt unto the *Baptiſm*, and then unto the *Supper* of the Lord, he preſented unto the Paſtor of the Church, with his own *Hand-writing*, the following *Inſtrument*; which becauſe of the Exemplary *Devotion* therein expreſſed, and the Remarkable *Hiſtory* which it gives of ſeveral Occurrences in his Life, I will here Faithfully Tranſcribe it, without adding ſo much as one Word unto it.

'The Firſt of God's making me ſenſible of my *Sin* 'was in the year 1674. by Hearing your Father 'Preach concerning, *the Day of Trouble near.* 'pleaſed Almighty God to ſmite me with a Deep ſen 'of my miſerable Condition, who had Lived unt 'then, in the World, and had *Done nothing for Go* 'I did then begin to think *What I ſhould Do to be ſaved* 'and did bewail my *Youthful Days*, which I had ſpen 'in vain: I did think that I would begin to min 'The *Things of God.* Being then ſome time, unde 'your Father's Miniſtry, much troubled with m 'Burden, but thinking on that Scripture, *Come un* 'me, you that are weary and heavy Laden, and I will Gi 'you Reſt. I had ſome Thoughts of Drawing as near t 'the Communion of the Lord *Jeſus* as I could, B 'the Ruines, which the *Indian Wars* brought on m 'Affairs, and the Entanglements which my followi 'the *Sea*, laid upon me, hindred my purſuing th 'welfare of my own Soul, as I ought to have done 'At length God was pleaſed to ſmile upon my *Outwar*

'*Concern*

Concerns. The various *Providences* both Merciful and Afflictive, which attended me in my Travels were ſanctified unto me, to make me *Acknowledge God in all my Ways.* I have Divers Times been in Danger of my *Life*, and I have been brought to ſee that I owe my *Life* to Him that has given a *Life* ſo often to me: I thank God, He hath brought me to ſee my ſelf altogether unhappy, without an Intereſt in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to cloſe heartily with him, deſiring Him to Execute *All His Offices* on my Behalf. I have now, for ſome Time, been under ſerious *Reſolutions*, that I would avoid whatever I ſhould know to be Diſpleaſing unto God, and that I would *Serve Him all the Days of my Life.* I Believe *No man will Repent the Service of ſuch a Maſter.* I find my ſelf *unable* to Keep ſuch *Reſolutions*, but my Serious *Prayers* are to the Moſt High, that *He* would *enable* me. God hath done ſo much for me that I am ſenſible, I owe my ſelf to Him; *To Him would I give my ſelf, and all that He has given to me.* I can't expreſs His Mercies to me. But, as ſoon as ever God had ſmiled upon me, with a Turn of my Affairs, I laid my ſelf under the VOWS of the Lord *That I would ſet my ſelf to ſerve His People, and Churches here unto the Utmoſt of my Capacity.* I have had great Offers made me in *England*; But the Churches of *New-England* were thoſe, which my Heart was moſt ſet upon. I knew, *that if God had a People any where, it was here:* and I *Reſolved To Riſe and fall with them*; neglecting very Great Advantages for my Worldly Intreſt, that I might come and enjoy the Ordinances of the Lord Jeſus here. It has been my Trouble, that ſince I came home I have made no more Haſt to get into the *Houſe of God*, where *I deſire to be:* Eſpecially having Heard ſo much about the *Evil* of that Omiſſion. I can Do little for God, but I deſire to Wait upon Him in His Ordinances, and to Live to His Honour and Glory. My being Born in a part of the Country, where I had not in my *Infancy* enjoyed the *Firſt Sacrament* of the *New-Teſtement*, has been ſomthing of a *Stumbling Block* unto me. But though, I have had Profers of *Baptiſm*

'elſewhere made unto me, I Reſolved rather to Defer
'it, until I might enjoy it in the Communion of theſe
'Churches, And I have had awful Impreſſions from
'thoſe Words of the Lord Jeſus, in Matth. 8. 38. *Whoſo-*
'*ever ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my Words, of him alſo*
'*ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed.* When God had Bleſſed
'me with ſomething of the World, I had no Trouble ſo
'Great as this; *Leſt it ſhould not be in Mercy*; and I
'Trembled at Nothing more than being *put off with a*
'*Portion here.* That I may make ſure of *Better Things*,
'I now offer my ſelf unto the Communion of this
'Church of the Lord JESUS.

Accordingly on March 23. 1690. after he had in the Congregation of *North-Boſton* given himſelf up, *firſt unto the Lord, and then unto His People*, he was *Baptized*, and ſo Received into the *Communion* of the Faithful there.

SECT. 10.

SEVERAL Times, about, before and after *this Time*, did I hear him expreſs himſelf unto this purpoſe: *I have no need at all, to look after any further Advantages for my ſelf in this World; I may ſit ſtill at home, if I will, and enjoy my Eaſe for the reſt of my Life; but I believe that I ſhould offend God in my doing ſo: For I am now in the prime of my Age and Strength, and, I thank God, I can undergo Hardſhip: He only knows how long I have to live; but I think 'tis my Duty to venture my Life in doing of Good, before an uſeleſs Old Age comes upon me: Wherefore I will now expoſe my ſelf, while I am able, and as far as I am able, for the Service of my Country: I was born for Others, as well as my ſelf.* I ſay, many a time have I heard him ſo expreſs himſelf: And agreeable to this Generous *Diſpoſition* and *Reſolution*, was all the reſt of his Life. About this time *New-England* was miſerably *Briar'd*, in the Perplexities of an *Indian War*; and the Salvages, in the *Eaſt* part of the Country, Iſ-

ſuing

ſuing out from their Inacceſſible *Swamps*, had for many Months made their cruel Depredations upon the poor *Engliſh* Planters, and Surprized many of the Plantations on the Frontiers, into Ruin. The *New-Englanders* found, that while they continued only on the *Defenſive* part, their *People* were thinned, and their *Treaſures* wa-ted, without any hopes of ſeeing a Period put unto the *Indian Tragedies*; nor could an Army greater than *Xer-xes*'s have eaſily come at the ſeemingly contemptible Handful of *Tawnies*, which made all this Diſturbance; Or, *Tamerlain*, the greateſt Conqueror that ever the World ſaw, have made it a Buſineſs of no *Trouble* to have *Conquered* them: They found, that they were like to make no Weapons reach their Enſwamped Adverſa-ries, except Mr. *Milton* could have ſhown them how

To have pluckt up the Hills with all their Load,
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by their ſhaggy tops,
Up-lifting, bore them in their hands, Therewith
The Rebel Hoſt to'v over-whelm'd———

So it was thought that the *Engliſh* Subjects, in theſe Re-gions of *America*, might very properly take this occa-ſion, to make an attempt upon the *French*, and by Re-ducing them under the *Engliſh* Government, put an Eternal Period at once, unto all their Troubles from the *Frenchified Pagans*. This was a Motion urged by Sir *William Phips*, unto the General Court of the *Maſſachu-ſet-Colony*; and he then made unto the Court a brave *Offer* of his own Perſon and Eſtate, for the Service of the Publick in their preſent Extremity, as far as they ſhould ſee cauſe to make uſe thereof. Whereupon they made a *Firſt Eſſay* againſt the *French*, by ſending a Naval Force, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of Sir *William Phips*, againſt *L'Acady* and *Nova Scotia*; of which Action we ſhall give only this General and Summary Account; That Sir *William Phips* ſet Sail from *Nantaſcot*, *April* 28. 1690. Arriving at *Port-Royal*, *May* 11. and had the Fort quickly Surrender'd into his Hands by the *French* Enemy, who deſpaired of holding

out againſt him. He then took Poſſeſſion of that Province for the *Engliſh* Crown, and having Demoliſhed the Fort, and ſent away the Garriſon, Adminiſtred unto the Planters an *Oath of Allegiance* to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, he left what Order he thought convenient for the Government of the Place, until further Order ſhould be taken by the Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, unto whom he returned *May* 30. with an acceptable Account of his Expedition, and accepted a Place among the *Magiſtrates* of that Colony, to which the *Free-Men* had choſen him, at their *Anniverſary Election*, two Days before.

Thus the Country, once given by King *James* the Firſt, unto Sir *William Alexander*, was now by another Sir *William*, recovered out of the Hands of the *French*, who had afterwards got the Poſſeſſion of it; and there was added unto the *Engliſh Empire*, a Territory, whereof no Man can Read Monſieur *Denys's Deſcription Geographique & Hiſtorique des Coſtes de l' Amerique Septentrionale*, but he muſt reckon the Conqueſt of a Region ſo Improvable, for *Lumber*, for *Fiſhing*, for *Mines*, and for *Furrs*, a very conſiderable *Service*. But if a ſmaller *Service* has, e'er-now, ever merited a *Knighthood*, Sir *William* was willing to Repeat his Merits, by Actions of the greateſt *Service* poſſible:

Nil Actum credens, ſi quid ſupereſſet agendum.

SECT. II.

THE Addition of this *French* Colony to the *Engliſh* Dominion, was no more than a *little ſtep* towards a *greater Action*, which was firſt in the Deſign of Sir *William Phips*, and which was, indeed, the *Greateſt Action* that ever the *New-Englanders* Attempted. There was a time, when the *Philiſtines* had made ſome Inroads and Aſſaults from the *North-ward*, upon the Skirts of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* had a Reſidence, before their coming out of *Egypt*. The *Iſraelites*, and eſpecially that Active

Active Colony of the *Ephraimites*, were willing to Revenge theſe Injuries upon their wicked Neighbours; they preſumed themſelves Powerful and Numerous enough to Encounter the *Canaanites*, even in their own Country; and they formed a brisk *Expedition*, but came off unhappy Loſers in it; the *Jewiſh Rabbins* tell us, they loſt no leſs than *Eight Thouſand* Men. The *Time* was not yet come; there was more *Haſt* than good *Speed* in the Attempt; they were not enough concerned for the *Counſel* and *Preſence* of God in the Undertaking; they mainly propounded the *Plunder* to be got among a People, whoſe Trade was that, wherewith *Beaſts* enriched them; ſo the Buſineſs miſcarried. This Hiſtory the Pſalmiſt going to recite, ſays, *I will utter dark Sayings of old.* Now that what befel Sir *William Phips*, with his whole Country of *New-England*, may not be almoſt forgotten among *the dark Sayings of old*, I will here give the true Report of a very memorable Matter.

It was *Canada* that was the chief Source of *New-England*'s Miſeries. *There* was the main Strength of the *French*; *There* the *Indians* were moſtly ſupplied with Ammunition; *Thence* Iſſued Parties of Men, who uniting with the Salvages, barbarouſly murdered many Innocent *New-Englanders*, without any Provocation on the *New-Engliſh* part, except this, that *New-England* had Proclaimed King *William*, and Q. *Mary*, which they ſaid were *Uſurpers*; And, as *Cato* could make no Speech in the Senate, without that Concluſion, *Delenda eſt Carthago*; ſo it was the general Concluſion of all that Argued ſenſibly, about the ſafety of that Country, *Canada muſt be Reduced.* It then became the concurring Reſolution of all *New-England*, with *New-York*, to make a Vigorous Attack upon *Canada* at once, both by Sea and Land.

And a Fleet was accordingly fitted out from *Boſton*, under the Command of Sir *William Phips*, to fall upon *Quebeque*, the chief City of *Canada.* They waited until *Auguſt* for ſome Stores of War from *England*, whither they had ſent for that purpoſe, early in the Spring;

but

but none at last arriving, and the Season of the Year being so far spent, Sir *William* could not, without many Discouragements upon his Mind, proceed in a Voyage for which he found himself so poorly provided. However, the Ships being taken up, and the Men on board, his usual Courage would not permit him to Desist from the Enterprize; but he set Sail from *Hull* near *Boston* *August* 9. 1690. with a Fleet of *Thirty two* Ships and Tenders; whereof one, called *the Six Friends*, carrying Fourty Four great Guns, and Two Hundred Men, was *Admiral*. Sir *William* dividing the Fleet into several Squadrons, whereof there was *the Six Friends*, Captain *Gregory Sugars* Commander, with Eleven more of the Admiral's Squadron, of which one was also a Capital Ship, namely, *The John and Thomas*, Captain *Thomas Carter* Commander; Of the *Vice-Admirals*, the *Swan*, Captain *Thomas Gilbert* Commander, with Nine more; Of the *Rear-Admirals*, the *America-Merchant*, Captain *Joseph Eldridge* Commander, with Nine more; and above Twenty Hundred Men on Board the whole Fleet: He so happily managed his Charge, that they every one of them Arrived safe at Anchor before *Quebeck*, although they had as dangerous, and almost untrodden a *Path* to take *Un-Piloted*, for the whole Voyage, as ever any Voyage was undertaken with. Some small *French Prizes* he took by the way, and set up *English* Colours upon the Coast, here and there, as he went along; and before the Month of *August* was out, he had spent several Days as far onward of his Voyage, as between the Island of *Antecosta*, and the *Main*. But when they entred the mighty River of *Canada*, such adverse Winds encountred the Fleet, that they were *Three Weeks* dispatching the way, which might otherwise have been gone in *Three Days*, and it was the Fifth of *October*, when a fresh Breeze coming up at *East*, carried them along by the *North* Shore, up to the Isle of *Orleans*; and then haling *Southerly*, they passed by the *East* end of that Island, with the whole Fleet approaching the City of *Quebeck*. This loss of Time, which made it so late before the Fleet could get into the Country, where a cold and

fierce

fierce *Winter* was already very far advanced, gave no very *good* Proſpect of Succeſs to the Expedition; but that which gave a much *worſe*, was a moſt horrid *Miſmanagement*, which had, the mean while, happened in the *Weſt*. For a Thouſand *Engliſh* from *New-York*, and *Albany*, and *Connecticut*, with Fifteen Hundred *Indians*, were to have gone over-Land, in the *Weſt*, and fallen upon *Mount-Royal*, while the Fleet was to Viſit *Quebeck* in the *Eaſt*; and no Expedition could have been better laid than *This*, which was thus contrived. But thoſe *Engliſh* Companies in the *Weſt*, marching as far as the great Lake that was to be paſſed, found their *Canoos* not provided, according to expectation; and the *Indians* alſo were [*How?* God knows, and will one Day Judge!] diſſuaded from Joining with the *Engliſh*; and the Army met with ſuch Diſcouragements, that they returned.

Had this *Weſtern Army* done but ſo much as continued at the *Lake*, the Diverſion thereby given to the *French* Quartered at *Mount-Royal*, would have rendered the Conqueſt of *Quebeck* eaſie and certain; but the Governour of *Canada* being Informed of the Retreat made by the *Weſtern*-Army, had opportunity, by the croſs Winds that kept back the Fleet, unhappily to get the whole Strength of all the Country into the City, before the Fleet could come up unto it. However, none of theſe Difficulties hindred Sir *William Phips* from ſending on Shoar the following Summons, on *Monday*, the Sixth of *October*.

Sir

Sir William Phips *Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over Their Majesties Forces of* New-England, *by Sea and Land*;

To Count Frontenac, *Lieutenent-General and Governour for the* French *King, at* Canada; *or in his Absence to his Deputy, or Him, or Them, in Chief Command at* Quebeck.

'THE War between the Two Crowns of *England* and *France*, doth not only sufficiently *Warrant* but the Destruction made by the *French* and *Indians* under your Command and Encouragement, upon the Persons and Estates of Their Majesties Subjects of *New-England*, without Provocation on their part hath put them under the *Necessity* of this Expedition for their own Security and Satisfaction. And although the Cruelties and Barbarities used against them, by the *French* and *Indians*, might upon the present Opportunity, prompt unto a severe *Revenge*, yet being desirous to avoid all Inhumane and Unchristian-like Actions, and to prevent shedding of Blood as much as may be;

'I the aforesaid Sir *William Phips*, Knight, do hereby, in the Name, and in the Behalf of Their Most Excellent Majesties, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith; and by Order of Their said Majesties Government of the *Massachuset*-Colony, in *New-England*, Demand a present Surrender of your Forts and Castles, undemolished, and the King's, and other Stores unimbezzelled, with a seasonable Deliver-

'ry

ry of all Captives; together with a Surrender of all your Perſons and Eſtates, to my Diſpoſe: Upon the doing whereof you may expect Mercy from me, as a *Chriſtian*, according to what ſhall be found for Their Majeſties Service, and the Subjects Security. Which if you Refuſe forth-with to do, I am come provided, and am Reſolved by the help of God, in whom I truſt, by Force of Arms, to Revenge all Wrongs and Injuries offered, and bring you under Subjection to the Crown of *England*; and when too late, make you wiſh, you had accepted of the Favour tendered.

'Your Anſwer Poſitive in an Hour, returned by your 'own Trumpet, with the Return of mine, is Requi- 'red, upon the Peril that will enſue.

The Summons being Delivered unto Count *Frontenac*, his Anſwer was;

'That Sir *William Phips*, and thoſe with him, were *Hereticks*, and *Traitors* to their King, and had taken up with that *Uſurper*, the Prince of *Orange*, and had made a *Revolution*, which if it had not been made, *New-England* and the *French* had been *all One*; and that no other Anſwer was to be expected from him, but what ſhould be from the Mouth of his *Cannon*.

General *Phips*, now ſaw, that it muſt coſt him *Dry Blowes*, and that he muſt Roar his Perſwaſions out of the Mouths of *Great Guns*, to make himſelf Maſter of a City, which had certainly Surrender'd it ſelf unto him, if he had arrived but a little ſooner, and Summon'd it before the coming down of Count *Frontenac* with all his Forces, to command the oppreſſed People there, who would have been, many of them, gladder of coming under the *Engliſh* Government. Wherefore on the Seventh of *October*, the *Engliſh*, that were for the Land-Service, went on Board their leſſer Veſſels, in order to Land; among which there was a Bark, wherein was Captain *Ephraim Savage*, with ſixty Men, that

that ran a Ground upon the *North*-Shoar, near two Miles from *Quebeck*, and could not get off, but lay in the ſame Diſtreſs that *Scæva* did, when the *Britans* poured in their Numbers upon the *Bark*, wherein he, with a few more Soldiers of *Cæſar*'s Army, were by the diſadvantage of the *Tide*, left aſhoar: The *French*, with *Indians*, that ſaw them ly there, came near, and Fired thick upon them, and were bravely Anſwered; and when two or three Hundred of the Enemy, at laſt planted a Field-Piece againſt the *Bark*, while the Wind blew ſo hard, that no help could be ſent unto his Men, the General Advanced ſo far, as to Level two or three great Guns, conveniently enough to make the Aſſailants Fly; and when the Flood came, the Bark happily got off, without the hurt of one Man aboard. But ſo violent was the Storm of Wind all this Day, that it was not poſſible for them to Land, until the Eighth of *October*; when, the *Engliſh* counting every *Hour* to be a *Week*, until they were come to Battle, vigorouſly got aſhoar, deſigning to enter the *Eaſt*-end of the City. The *Small-Pox* had got into the Fleet, by which Diſtemper prevailing, the number of Effective Men which now went aſhoar, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Walley*, did not amount unto more than Fourteen Hundred; but Four Companies of theſe were drawn out as *Forlorns*, whom, on every ſide, the Enemy fired at; nevertheleſs, the *Engliſh* Ruſhing with a ſhout, at once upon them, cauſed them to Run as faſt as Legs could carry them: So that the whole *Engliſh* Army, expreſſing as much Reſolution as was in *Cæſar*'s Army, when they firſt landed on *Britain*, in ſpight of all oppoſition from the Inhabitants, marched on until it was dark, having firſt killed many of the *French*, with the loſs of but *four* Men of their own; and frighted about ſeven or eight Hundred more of the *French* from an Ambuſcado, where they lay ready to fall upon them. But ſome thought, that by *ſtaying in the Valley*, they took the way *never to get over the Hill*. And yet for them to ſtay where they were, till the ſmaller Veſſels came up the River, before them, ſo far as

s by their Guns to ſecure the Paſſage of the Army, their *getting over*, was what the Council of War had rdered. But the Violence of the *Weather*, with the eneral's being ſooner plunged into the heat of Action han was intended, hindred the ſmaller Veſſels from ttending that Order. And this Evening, a *French* De- rter coming to them, aſſured them, that Nine Hun- red Men were on their March from *Quebeck* to meet hem, already paſſed a little Rivulet that lay at the end f the City, but ſeeing them Land ſo ſuddenly, and ſo aliantly run down thoſe that firſt Encountred them, ney had Retreated: Nevertheleſs, That Count *Fron- nac* was come down to *Quebeck*, with no fewer than *hirty Hundred* Men to defend the City, having left but *fty* Souldiers to defend *Mount Real*, becauſe they had nderſtood, that the *Engliſh* Army on that ſide, were one back to *Albany*. Notwithſtanding this diſpiriting nformation, the common Souldiers did with much ve- emency Beg and Pray, that they might be Led on, rofeſſing, that they had rather loſe their Lives on the ot, than fail of taking the City; but the more wary ommanders, conſidered how raſh a thing it would be, r about Fourteen Hundred Raw Men, tired with a ng Voyage, to aſſault more than Twice as many Ex- ert Souldiers, who were *Galli in ſuo ſterquilinio*, or *ocks Crowing on their own Dunghil.* They were, in uth, now gotten into the grievous Caſe, which *Livy* eſcribes, when he ſays, *Ibi grave eſt Bellum gerere, ubi n conſiſtendi aut procedendi locus; quocunque aſpexeris oſtilia ſunt omnia*; Look on one ſide or 'tother, all was ll of *Hoſtile Difficulties.* And indeed, whatever Po- ular Clamour has been made againſt any of the Com- anders, it is apparent, that they acted conſiderately, making a *Pauſe* upon what was before them; and ney did a greater kindneſs to their Souldiers than ney have ſince been thanked for. But in this time, eneral *Phips* and his Men of War, with their *Canvas, ings*, flew cloſe up unto the Weſt-end of the City, nd there he behaved himſelf with the Greateſt Brave- imaginable; nor did the other Men of War forbear

to

to follow his brave Example: who never discover himself more in his Element, than when (as the Po expresseth it,)

The Slaughter-Breathing Brass grew hot, and spoke
In Flames of Lightning, and in Clouds of Smoke:

He lay within *Pistol-shot* of the Enemies Cannon, a beat them from thence, and very much Batter'd t Town, having his own Ship shot through in an hu dred places, with *four and twenty Pounders*, and yet, b one Man was killed, and only two mortally wound aboard him, in this hot Engagement, which contin the greatest part of that Night, and several hours the Day ensuing. But wondring, that he saw no s *nal* of any Effective Action ashoar, at the East end the City, he sent that he might know the condition the Army there; and received Answer, That seve of the Men were so frozen in their Hands and Feet, to be disabled from service, and others were apace f ing sick of the *Small-Pox*. Whereupon he order'd th on Board immediately to refresh themselves, and he tended then, to have renew'd his Attack upon the C in the Method of Landing his Men in the face of under the shelter of his Great Guns; having to t purpose, provided also, a considerable number of w shaped *Wheel-Barrows*, each of them carrying Two *tarraro*'s a piece, to March before the Men, and make Enemy fly, with as much Contempt as overwhelm the *Philistines*, when undone by *Foxes* with *Torches* their Tails; (remembred in an Anniversary Diversi every *April*, among the Ancient *Romans*, taught by *Phenicians.*)

While the Measures to be further taken, were deb ing, there was made an Exchange of Prisoners, *English* having taken several of the *French* in divers a ons, and the *French* having in their Hands divers of *English*, whom the *Indians* had brought Captives u them. The Army now on Board, continued still Re lute and Couragious, and on fire, for the Conquest

Quebe

Quebeck, or if they had miſſed of doing it by ſtorm, they knew that they might, by poſſeſſing themſelves of the Iſle of *Orleans*, in a little while, have ſtarved them out. Incredible Damage they might indeed, have done to the Enemy, before they Embarked, but they were willing to preſerve the more undefenſible parts of the Country, in ſuch a condition, as might more ſenſibly encourage the Submiſſion of the Inhabitants, unto the Crown of *England*, whoſe Protection was deſired by ſo many of them. And ſtill they were loth to Play for any leſſer Game than the immediate Surrender of *Quebeck* it ſelf. But e're a full *Council of War* could conclude the next ſteps to be taken, a violent *Storm* aroſe, that ſeparated the Fleet, and the *Snow* and the Cold became ſo extreme, that they could not continue in thoſe Quarters any longer.

Thus, by an evident *Hand of Heaven*, ſending one unavoidable Diſaſter after another, as well-formed an Enterprize, as perhaps was ever made by the *New-Englanders*, moſt unhappily miſcarried; and General *Phips* underwent a very mortifying Diſappointment of a Deſign, which his Mind was, as much as ever any, ſet upon. He arrived *Nov.* 19. at *Boſton*, where, although he found himſelf, as well as the Publick, thrown into very *uneaſie* circumſtances, yet he had this to comfort him, That neither his Courage, nor his Conduct could reaſonably have been Taxed, nor could it be ſaid that any Man could have done more than he did, under ſo many *Embaraſſments of his Buſineſs*, as he was to fight withal. He alſo relieved the uneaſineſs of his Mind, by conſidering, that his Voyage to *Canada*, diverted from his Country an *Horrible Tempeſt* from an Army of *Boſs-Lopers*, which had prepar'd themſelves, as 'tis affirmed, that Winter, to fall upon the *New-Engliſh* Colonies, and by falling on them, would probably have laid no little part of the Country deſolate. And he further conſidered, That in this matter, like *Iſrael* engaging againſt *Benjamin*, it may be, we ſaw yet, but the *beginning* of the matter: And that the way to *Canada* now being learnt, the foundation of a Victory o-

ver it might be laid, in what had been already done. Unto this purpose likewise, he was heard sometimes applying the Remarkable Story, reported by *Bradwardine*.

'There was an *Hermit*, who being vexed with blasphemous Injections about the Justice and Wisdom of Divine *Providence*, an Angel in Human Shape, invited him to Travel with him, *That he might see the hidden Judgments of God.* Lodging all Night at the House of a Man, who kindly entertain'd them, the Angel took away a valuable Cup from their Host, at their going away in the Morning, and bestowed this Cup upon a very *wicked Man*, with whom they Lodged the Night ensuing. The third Night they were most lovingly Treated, at the House of a very Godly Man, from whom, when they went in the Morning, the Angel meeting a Servant of his, threw him over the Bridge into the Water, where he was drowned. And the Fourth, being in like manner, most courteously Treated, at the House of a very Godly Man, the Angel before Morning, did unaccountably kill his only *Child*. The Companion of the Journey, being wonderfully offended at these things, would have left his *Guardian*. But the Angel then thus addressed him, *Understand now, the secret Judgments of God! The first man that entertained us, did inordinately affect that* Cup, *which I took from him*; 'twas *for the advantage of his interiour that I took it away, and I gave it unto the impious man, as the present reward of his good Works, which is all the reward that he is like to have. As for our* Third *Host*, the *Servant which I slew, had formed a bloody Design, to have slain his Master, but now, you see, I have saved the Life of the Master, and prevented something of growth unto the eternal punishment of the Murderer. As for our* Fourth *Host, before his* Child *was Born unto him, he was a very liberal and bountiful Person, and he did abundance of good with his Estate*; *but when he saw he was like to leave such an Heir, he grew covetous*; *wherefore the Soul of the Infant is Translated into Paradise, but the occasion of sin is, you see, mercifully taken away from the Parent.*

Thus

Thus General *Phips*, though he had been uſed unto *iving* in his time, would ſay, *That the things which had fallen him in this Expedition, were too deep to be* Dived *o!*

SECT. 12.

FROM The time that General *Pen* made his ttempt upon *Hiſpaniola*, with an Army that, like the *ew Engliſh* Forces, againſt *Canada*, miſcarried after an xpectation of having Little to Do, but to *Poſſeſs and ander*; Even to this Day, the General Diſaſter which th attended, almoſt every Attempt of the *European* olones in *America*, to make any Conſiderable Encroachents upon their Neighbours, is a matter of ſome oſe Reflection. But of the Diſaſter, which now befell or *New-England*, in particular, every one will eaſily onclude, none of the leaſt Conſequences to have been, e *Extreme Debts*, which that Country was now plund into; there being *Forty Thouſand* pounds, more or s, now to be paid, and not a Penny in the Treaſury pay it withal. In this *Extremity*, they preſently found t an *Expedient*, which may ſerve as an *Example*, for y People, in other parts of the World, whoſe Diſtreſſes may call for a ſudden ſupply of *Money* to carry em through any Important *Expedition*. The *General Aſſembly* firſt paſs'd *an Act*, for the Levying of ſuch a ſum *Money* as was wanted, within ſuch a Term of Time, was judged convenient; and this *Act* was a *Fund*, on hich the *Credit* of ſuch a Sum, ſhould be rendered *paſſa*e among the people. Hereupon, there was appointed Able and Faithful *Committee* of Gentlemen, who prind from *Copper-Plates*, a juſt Number of *Bills*, and Floſhed, Indented, and Contrived them, in ſuch a manr, as to make it Impoſſible to Counterfeit any of them, ithout a Speedy Diſcovery of the *Counterfeit*: beſides hich, they were all Signed by the Hands of *Three*, belonging to that *Committee*. Theſe *Bills* being of ſeveral Sums, om *Two-ſhillings*, to *Ten pounds*, did confeſs the *Maſſa-*

chuſet-Colony, to be *Endebted* unto the Perſon, in whoſe Hands they were, the Sums therein expreſſed; and Provision was made, that if any *particular Bills*, were Irrecoverably Loſt or Torn, or Worn by the Owners, they might be Recruited without any Damage to the *whole in General*. The *publick Debts* to the *Sailors* and *Souldiers*, now upon the point of *Mutiny*, (for, *Arma Tenenti Omnia dat, qui Juſta negat!*) were in theſe *Bills* paid immediatly: but that further *Credit* might be given thereunto, it was Ordered that they ſhould be Accepted by the Treaſurer, and all Officers that were Subordinate unto him, in all *publick Payments*, at Five *per cent.* more than the Value expreſſed in them. The People knowing that the *Tax-Act*, would, in the Space of Two years at Leaſt, fetch into the Treaſury, as much as all the *Bills of Credit*, thence emitted would amount unto, were willing to be furniſhed with *Bills*, wherein, 'twas their Advantage to pay their *Taxes*, rather than in any other *Specie*, and ſo the *Sailors* and *Souldiers* put off their *Bills* inſtead of *Money*, to thoſe, with whom they had any Dealings, and they *circulated* through all the Hands in the Colony, pretty Comfortably. Had the *Government* been ſo Settled, that there had not bin any Doubt of any Obſtruction, or Diverſion to be given to the Proſecution of the *Tax-Act*, by a *Total Change* of their affairs then Depending at *White-Hall*, 'Tis very certain, that the *Bills of Credit* had been better than ſo much ready *Silver*; yea, the *Invention* had been of more Uſe to the *New-Englanders*, than if all their *Copper Mines* had been opened, or the Mountains of *Peru* had been Removed into theſe parts of *America*. The *Maſſachuſet Bills of Credit*, had been like the *Bank-Bills* of *Venice*, where though there were not, perhaps, a *Ducat* of Money in the *Bank*, yet the *Bills* were eſteemed more then Twenty *per cent.* better than Money, among the Body of the People, in all their Dealings. But many People being afraid, that the Government would in Half a year, be ſo Overturned, as to Convert their *Bills, of Credit* altogether into *Waſt-paper*, the *Credit* of them was thereby very much impaired; and they, who firſt received them could

could make them yield little more than *fourteen* or *sixteen* ſhillings in the Pound; from whence there aroſe thoſe Idle *Suſpicions* in the Heads of many more Ignorant and Unthinking Folks concerning the Uſe thereof, which to the Incredible Detriment of the Province, are not wholly laid aſide unto this Day. However, this Method of paying the *Publick Debts*, did no leſs than ſave the Publick, from a perfect Ruine: and e're many Months were expired, the Governour and Council had the pleaſure of ſeeing the *Treaſurer* burn before their Eyes, many a Thouſand Pounds Worth of the *Bills*, which had paſſed about until they were again Returned unto the Treaſury, but before their being returned, had happily and honeſtly, without a farthing of *ſilver Coin*, diſcharged the *Debts*, for which they were intended. But that which helped theſe *Bills* unto much of their *Credit*, was the generous offer of many worthy men in *Boſton*, to run the Riſque of ſelling their *Goods* reaſonably for them: and of theſe, I think, I may ſay, that General *Phips* was in ſome ſort the *Leader*; who at the very Beginning, meerly to Recommend the *Credit* of the *Bills* unto other Perſons, cheerfully laid down a Conſiderable Quantity of *ready Money* for an equivalent parcel of them. And thus in a little time, the Country waded through the Terrible *Debts* which it was fallen into: In *this*, though unhappy enough, yet not ſo unhappy, as in the *Loſs of men*, by which the Country was at the ſome Time conſumed. 'Tis True, there was very *Little Blood* ſpilt in the Attacque made upon *Quebeck*; and there was a *Great Hand* of Heaven ſeen in it. The Churches, upon the Call of the Goverment, not only obſerved a General *Faſt* through the Colony, for the Welfare of the Army ſent unto *Quebeck*, but alſo kept the *Wheel of Prayer* in a *Continual motion*, by Repeated and Succeſſive Agreements, for Days of *Prayer* with *Faſting*, in their ſeveral Vicinities. On theſe Days the Ferventeſt Prayers were ſent up to the *God of Armies*, for the ſafety and ſucceſs of the *New-Engliſh* Army gone to *Canada*; and though I never underſtood that any of the Faithful did in their *Prayers* ariſe to any aſſurance, that the Expe-

di-

dition ſhould *proſper in all reſpects*, yet they ſometimes in their Devotions on theſe Occaſions, uttered their Perſwaſion, that Almighty God had heard them in *this* thing, *that the* Engliſh *Army ſhould not fall by the hands of the* French *Enemy*. Now they were marvellouſly delivered from doing *ſo*; though the Enemy had ſuch unexpected Advantages over them, yea, and though the horrid *Winter* was come on ſo far, that it is a Wonder the *Engliſh* Fleet, then Riding in the River of *Canada*, fared any better than the Army which a while ſince, beſieged *Poland*, wherein, of *ſeventy thouſand* Invaders, no leſs than *forty thouſand* ſuddenly periſhed by the ſeverity of the *cold*, albeit it were but the Month of *November* with them. Nevertheleſs, a kind of *Camp-Fever*, as well as the *Small-Pox*, got into the Fleet, whereby ſome Hundreds came ſhort of Home. And beſides this Calamity, it was alſo to be lamented, That although the moſt of the Fleet arrived ſafe at *New-England*, whereof ſome Veſſels indeed were driven off by Croſs-Winds as far as the *Weſt-Indies*, before ſuch Arrival; yet there were three or four Veſſels which totally miſcarried: *One* was never heard of, a *ſecond* was Wreck'd, but moſt of the Men were ſaved by another in company; a *third* was Wreck'd ſo, that all the Men were either ſtarved or drown'd, or ſlain by the *Indians*, except *one*, which a long while after, was, by means of the *French*, reſtored: And a *fourth*, met with Accidents, which it may be, my Reader will, by and by pronounce, not unworthy to have been Related.

A *Brigantine*, whereof Captain *John Rainsford* was Commander, having about Threeſcore Men aboard, was in a very ſtormy Night, *Octob.* 28, 1690, ſtranded upon the deſolate and hideous Iſland of *Anticoſta*, an Iſland in the mouth of the Mighty River of *Canada*; but through the ſingular Mercy of God unto them, the Veſſel did not, immediately, ſtave to pieces, which if it had happened, they muſt have, one way or another quickly periſhed. There they lay for divers days, under abundance of bitter Weather, trying and hoping to get off their Veſſel; and they ſolemnly ſet apart,

one

one Day for *Prayer* with *Faſting*, to obtain the ſmiles of Heaven upon them, in the midſt of their Diſtreſſes; and this eſpecially, That if they muſt go aſhoar, they might not by any ſtreſs of Storm, loſe the *Proviſions* which they were to carry with them. They were, at laſt convinced, that they muſt continue no longer on Board, and therefore, by the ſeventh of *November*, they applied themſelves, all Hands, to get their *Proviſions* aſhoar upon the diſmal *Iſland*, where they had nothing but a ſad and cold Winter before them; which being accompliſhed, their Veſſel *overſett* ſo, as to take away from them all expectation of getting off the Iſland in it. Here they now built themſelves Nine ſmall *Chimney-leſs things* that they called *Houſes*; to this purpoſe employing ſuch *Boards* and *Planks* as they could get from their ſhattered Veſſel, with the help of *Trees*, whereof that ſqualid Wilderneſs had enough to ſerve them; and they built a particular *Store-houſe*, wherein they carefully Lodg'd and Lock'd the poor quantity of *Proviſions*, which though ſcarce enough to ſerve a very abſtemious Company for *one Month*, muſt now be ſo tinted, as to hold out *ſix* or *ſeven*, and the Allowance agreed among them could be no better than for One Man, *Two Biskets, half a pound of Pork, half a pound of Flower, one Pint and a quarter of Peaſe, and two Salt Fiſhes per* Week. This little Handful of Men, were now a ſort of *Common-Wealth*, extraordinarily, and miſerably ſeparated from all the reſt of Mankind; (but I believe, they thought little enough of an *Utopia:*) Wherefore, they conſulted and concluded ſuch *Laws* among themſelves, as they judged neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, in the doleful Condition, whereinto the *Providence* of God had caſt them; now

——*penitùs toto diviſos Orbe.*

They ſet up *Good Orders*, as well as they could among themſelves and, beſides their daily Devotions, they Obſerved the *Lord's Days*, with more ſolemn Exerciſes of Religion.

But

But it was not long before they began to feel th more mortal effects of the Straits, whereinto they had b Reduced: Their *ſhort* Commons, Their Drink of *Snow Water*, Their Hard and Wet, and Smoaky *Lodging* and their Grievous *Deſpair of Mind*, overwhelme ſome of them, at ſuch a Rate, and ſo *ham-ſtring'd* them that ſooner than be at the paines to go abroad, an cut their one Fuel, they would ly after a Sottiſh man ner in the Cold; theſe things quickly brought *Sick neſſes* among them. The firſt of their Number wh Died, was their *Doctor*, on the 20*th of December*; and then they dropt away, one after another, till betwee *thirty* and *forty* of the *ſixty*, were buried by their di conſolate Friends, whereof every one look'd ſtill to b the next that ſhould lay his Bones in that Forſaken Re gion. Theſe poor Men did therefore, on *Monda* the Twenty Seventh of *January*, keep a *Sacre Faſt* (as they did, in ſome ſort, a *civil* one, every day all this while) to beſeech of Almighty God, that h *Anger* might be turned from them, That he would no go on to cut them off in his *Anger*, That the Extre mity of the Seaſon might be mitigated, and, That the might be proſpered in ſome Eſſay to get Relief as th *Spring* ſhould Advance upon them; and they took No tice, That God gave them a Gracious Anſwer to every one of theſe Petitions.

But while the *Hand of God* was killing *ſo many* o this little *Nation* (and yet uncapable to become a Na tion, for it was, *Res unius Ætatis, populus virorum!*) they apprehended, that they muſt have been under a moſt uncomfortable Neceſſity to *kill* One of their Com pany.

Whatever *Penalties* they Enacted for other Crimes there was One, for which, like that of *Parricide* among the Ancients, they would have promiſed themſelves that there ſhould not have been Occaſion for any *Pu niſhments*; and that was, the Crime of *Stealing* from the Common-Stock of their Proviſions. Nevertheleſs, they found their *Store-Houſe* divers times broken open, and their *Proviſions* therefrom *ſtolen*, by divers unnatural *childre*

Children of *the Leviathan*, while it was not poſſible for them to preſerve their feeble Store-Houſe from the *Stone-Wall-breaking* Madneſs of theſe unreaſonable Creatures. This Trade of *ſtealing*, if it had not been ſtop'd, by ſome *exemplary Severity*, they muſt in a little while, by *Lot* or *Force* have come to have *Canibally* devoured One Another; for there was nothing to be done, either at *Fiſhing* or *Fowling* or *Hunting* upon that Rueful Iſland, in the Depth of a Frozen Winter; and though they ſent, as far as they could upon Diſcovery, they could not find, on the Iſland, any *Living thing* in the World, beſides themſelves. Wherefore, though by an *Act*, they made *ſtealing* to be ſo *Criminal*, that Several did Run the *Gantlet* for it, yet, they were not far from being driven after all, to make One Degree and Inſtance of it, *Capital*. There was a wicked *Iriſhman* among them, who had ſuch a *Voracious Devil* in him, that after divers *Burglaries* upon the *Store-houſe*, committed by him, at laſt, he *ſtole*, and *Eat* with ſuch a *Pamphagous Fury*, as to Cram himſelf with no leſs than *Eighteen Biskets*, at one *ſtolen meal*, and he was fain to have his Belly ſtrok'd and Bath'd before the Fire, leſt he ſhould otherwiſe have burſt. This Amazing and indeed murderous Villany of the *Iriſhman*, brought them all to their Wit's Ends, how to defend themſelves from the Ruine therein threatned unto them; and whatever *methods* were propoſed, it was feared, that there could be no ſtop given to his *Furacious* Exorbitancies, any Way but *One*; He could not be paſt *Stealing*, unleſs he were paſt *Eating* too. Some think therefore, they might have Sentenced the Wretch to Dye, and after they had been at pains, upon Chriſtian and Spiritual Accounts, to prepare him for it, have executed the Sentence, by ſhooting him to Death: concluding matters come to that paſs, that if *they* had not ſhot him, he muſt have *Starved* them unavoidably. Such an Action if it were done, will doubtleſs meet with no harder a Cenſure, than that of the ſeven *Engliſh* men, who

being in a Boat carried off to Sea, from St. *Chriſtopher's*, with but *one* Days Proviſion aboard for *Seventeen*, Singled out ſome of their Number by Lot and ſlew them, and Eat them; for which, when they were afterwards accuſed of *Murder*, the Court, in conſideration of the *inevitable Neceſſity*, acquitted them. Truly, the *inevitable neceſſity* of *Starving*, without ſuch an Action, ſufficiently grievous to them all, will very much plead for what was done (whatever it were!) by theſe poor *Antecoſtians*. And *ſtarved* indeed, they muſt have been, for all this, if they had not Contrived and Performed a very deſperate Adventure, which now remains to be Related. There was a very diminutive kind of Boat belonging to their *Brigantine*, which they recovered out of the Wreck, and cutting this Boat in Two, they made a ſhift with certain odd Materials preſerved among them, to lengthen it ſo far, that they could therein form a *little Cuddy*, where Two or Three Men might be ſtowed, and they ſet up a *little Maſt*, whereto they faſtned a little Sail, and accommodated it with ſome other *little circumſtances*, according to their preſent poor Capacity.

On the Twenty Fifth of *March*, Five of the Company Shipped themſelves upon this Doughty *Fly-Boat*, intending, if it were poſſible, to carry unto *Boſton*, the Tidings of their woful Plight upon *Antecoſta*, and by help from their Friends there, to return with ſeaſonable ſuccours for the reſt. They had not Sail'd long, before they were Hemm'd in by prodigious Cakes of Ice, whereby their Boat ſometimes was horribly wounded, and it was a Miracle, that it was not Cruſh'd into a *Thouſand pieces*, if indeed a *thouſand pieces* could have been Splintred out of ſo minute a *Cock-Boat*. They kept labouring, and fearfully Weather-beaten, among enormous Rands of Ice, which would ever now and then rub formidably upon them, and were enough to have broken the Ribs of the ſtrongeſt Frigat that ever cut the Seas; and yet the ſignal Hand of Heaven ſo pre-

preſerved this petty Boat, that by the Eleventh of *April*, they had got a quarter of their way, and came to an Anchor under Cape St. *Lawrence*, having ſeen Land but *once* before, and that about ſeven Leagues off, ever ſince their firſt ſetting out; and yet, having ſeen the *open* and *Ocean Sea, not ſo much as once*, in all this while, for the Ice that ſtill encompaſſed them. For their ſupport in this Time, the little Proviſions they brought with them, would not have kept them alive; only they killed *Seale* upon the Ice, and they melted the upper pare of the Ice for Drink; but fierce, wild, ugly *Sea-Horſes*, would often ſo approach them upon the Ice, that the fear of being devoured by them, was not the leaſt of their Exerciſes. The Day following, they weighed Anchor, betimes in the Morning; but the *Norweſt Winds* perſecuted them, with the raiſed and raging Waves of the Sea, which almoſt continually poured into them; and monſtrous Iſlands of Ice, that ſeemed almoſt as big as *Antecoſta* it ſelf, would ever now and then come athwart them. In ſuch a Sea they lived by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God, until by the thirteenth of *April*, they got into an Iſland of *Land*, where they made a Fire, and killed ſome Fowl, and ſome *Seal*, and found ſome *Gooſe-Eggs*, and ſupplied themſelves with what Billets of Wood were neceſſary and carriageable for them; and there they ſtayed until the ſeventeenth. Here, their Boat lying near a Rock, a great Sea hove it upon the Rock, ſo that it was upon the very point of *overſetting*, which if it had, ſhe had bin utterly diſabled for any further ſervice, and they muſt have called that Harbour by the Name, which, I think, one a little more *Northward* bears, *The* Cape *without Hope*. There they muſt have ended their weary days! But here, the good Hand of God again interpoſed for them; they got her off, and though they loſt their *Compaſs* in this Hurry, they ſufficiently Repaired another defective one, that they had aboard. Sailing from thence, by the Twenty Fourth of *April*,

they made Cape *Britoon*; when a thick Fog threw them into a new Perplexity, until they were ſafely gotten into the Bay *of Iſlands*, where they again Wooded and Watred, and killed a few Fowl, and catched ſome Fiſh, and began to reckon themſelves as good as *half way home*. They reached *Cape Sables* by the Third of *May*, but by the fifth, all their Proviſion was again ſpent, and they were out of ſight of Land; nor had they any proſpect of catching any thing that lives in the *Atlantick*: which, while they were lamenting one unto another, a ſtout *Halibut* comes up to the top of the Water, by their ſide; whereupon they threw out the Fiſhing-Line, and the Fiſh took the Hook, but he proved ſo heavy, that it required the help of ſeveral Hands, to hale him in, and a *thankful Supper* they made on't. By the ſeventh of *May*, ſeeing no Land, but having once more ſpent all their Proviſion, they were grown almoſt wholly hopeleſs of Deliverance, but then a Fiſhing Shallop of Cape *Ann*, came up with them, fifteen Leagues to the Eaſtward of that Cape. And yet, before they got in, they had ſo Tempeſtuous a Night, that they much feared periſhing upon the Rocks, after all: But God carried them into *Boſton* Harbour the Ninth of *May*, unto the great ſurpriſe of their Friends, that were in Mourning for them: And there furniſhing themſelves with a Veſſel fit for their Undertaking, they took a Courſe in a few Weeks more to fetch home their Brethren, that they left behind them at *Antecoſta*.

But it is now time for us to return unto Sir *William!*

SECT. 13.

ALL this while *CANADA* was as much written upon Sir *William*'s Heart, as *CALLICE*, they ſaid once, was upon Queen *Maries*. He needed not one to have been his daily Monitor about *Canada*:

It

It lay down with him, it roſe up with him, it engroſſed almoſt all his Thoughts; he thought the ſubduing of *Canada*, to be the greateſt ſervice that could be done for *New-England*, or for the Crown of *England* in *America*. In purſuance whereof, after he had been but a few Weeks at Home, he took another Voyage for *England*, in the very depth of Winter, *when Sailing was now dangerous*; conflicting with all the Difficulties of a tedious and a terrible Paſſage, in a very little Veſſel, which indeed, was like enough to have periſhed, if it had not been for the help of his Generous Hand aboard, and *His Fortunes in the bottom*.

Arriving—— *per tot Diſcrimina*, at *Briſtol*, he haſtned up to *London*; and made his Applications to Their Majeſties, and the Principal Miniſters of State, for aſſiſtance to Renew an Expedition againſt *Canada*, concluding his Repreſentation to the King, with ſuch Words as theſe:

'If Your Majeſty ſhall graciouſly pleaſe to Commiſſi-'on and Aſſiſt me, I am ready to venture my Life a-'gain in your Service. And I doubt not, but by the 'Bleſſing of God, *Canada* may be added unto the reſt 'of your Dominions, which will (all circumſtances con-'ſidered) be of more advantage to the Crown of *Eng-'land*, than all the Territories in the *Weſt-Indies* are.

The Reaſons *here ſubjoined, are humbly Offered unto Your Majeſties* Conſideration.

'*Firſt*, The Succeſs of this Deſign, will greatly add 'to the Glory and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Crown and 'Nation; by the Addition of the *Bever-Trade*, and ſe-'curing the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, ſome of whoſe *Fa-'ctories* have lately fallen into the Hands of the *French*; 'and increaſe of *Engliſh* Shipping and Seamen, by gain-'ing the Fiſhery of *Newfoundland*, and by conſequence 'diminiſh the number of *French* Seamen, and cut off a 'great Revenue from the *French* Crown.

'*Secondly*, The Cauſe of the *Engliſh* in *New-England*, 'their failing in the late Attempt upon *Canada*, was 'their waiting for a Supply of *Ammunition* from *Eng-*'*land* until *Auguſt*; their long Paſſage up that River; 'the *cold Seaſon* coming on; and the *Small-Pox* and '*Fevers* being in the Army and Fleet; ſo that they 'could not ſtay fourteen days longer; in which time 'probably they might have taken *Quebeck*; yet, if a few 'Frigats be ſpeedily ſent, they doubt not of an happy 'Succeſs; the ſtrength of the *French* being ſmall, and 'the *Planters* deſirous to be under the *Engliſh* Govern-'ment.

'*Thirdly*, The *Jeſuites* endeavour to ſeduce the *Ma-*'*qua's*, and other *Indians* (as is by them affirmed) ſug-'geſting the Greatneſs of King *Lewis*, and the inabili-'ty of King *William*, to do any thing againſt the *French* 'in thoſe Parts, thereby to Engage them in their Inte-'reſts: In which, if they ſhould ſucceed, not only '*New-England*, but all our *American* Plantations, would 'be endangered by the Great Increaſe of Shipping, for 'the *French* (built in *New-England* at eaſie Rates) to 'the Infinite Diſhonour and Prejudice of the *Engliſh* 'Nation.

But now, for the Succeſs of theſe Applications, I muſt entreat the Patience of my Reader, to wait until we have gone through a little more of our Hiſtory.

SECT. 14.

THE Reverend *INCREASE MATHER*, beholding his Country of *New-England* in a very Deplorable Condition, under a *Governour* that acted by an Illegal, Arbitrary, Treaſonable Commiſſion, and Invaded

vaded *Liberty* and *Property*, after ſuch a manner, as that no man could ſay any thing was *his own*, he did with the Encouragement of the Principal Gentlemen in the Country, but not without much Trouble and Hazard unto his own Perſon, go over to *White-Hall*, in the Summer of the Year 1688. and wait upon King *James*, with a full *Repreſentation* of their Miſeries. That King did give him Liberty of *Acceſs* unto him, whenever he deſired it, and with many *Good Words* promiſed him to Relieve the Oppreſſed People in many *Inſtances* that were propoſed: But when the *Revolution* had brought the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to the Throne, Mr. *Mather* having the Honour divers Times to Wait upon the King, he ſtill prayed for no leſs a Favour to *New-England*, than the full Reſtoration of their *Charter-Priviledges*: And Sr. *William Phips* happening to be then in *England*, very Generouſly joined with Mr. *Mather*, in ſome of thoſe Addreſſes: Whereto, his Majeſtie's Anſwers were always very expreſſive of his Gracious Inclinations. Mr. *Mather*, herein aſſiſted alſo, by the Right Worſhipful Sr *Henry Aſhurſt*, a moſt Hearty Friend of all ſuch Good Men, as thoſe that once filled *New-England*, ſolicited the Leading Men of both Houſes in the Convention-Parliament, until a Bill for the Reſtoring of the Charters belonging to *New-England*, was fully Paſſed by the Commons of *England*; but that Parliament being Prorogu'd, and then Diſſolved, all that *Siſyphæan* Labour came to nothing. The Diſappointments which afterwards moſt wonderfully Blaſted all the hopes of the Petitioned Reſtoration, obliged Mr. *Mather*, not without the Concurrence of other Agents, now alſo come from *New-England*, unto that Method of Petitioning the King for a *New* Charter, that ſhould contain more than all the Priviledges of the *Old*; and Sir *William Phips*, now being again returned into *England*, lent his utmoſt Aſſiſtance hereunto.

The King taking a Voyage for *Holland*, before this Petition was anſwered. Mr. *Mather*, in the mean while, not only waited upon the greateſt part of the Lords of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, offering them a Paper of *Reaſons for the Confirmation of the* Charter-Priviledges *granted unto the* Maſſachuſet Colony; but alſo, having the Honour to be Introduc'd unto the Queen, he aſſured Her Majeſty, That there were none in the World better affected unto Their Majeſties Government, than the People of *New-England*, who had indeed been expoſed unto great Hardſhips for their being ſo; and entreated, That ſince the King had referred the *New-Engliſh* Affair unto the Two Lord Chief Juſtices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General, there might be granted unto us, what They thought was Reaſonable. Whereto the Queen replied, That the Requeſt was Reaſonable; and that She had ſpoken divers times to the King on the behalf of *New-England*; and that for Her own Part, She deſired that the People there, might not meerly have Juſtice, but *Favour* done to them. When the King was returned, Mr. *Mather*, being by the Duke of *Devonſhire* brought into the King's Preſence on *April* 28. 1691. Humbly Pray'd His Majeſties Favour to *New-England*; urging, That if their Old Charter-Priviledges might be reſtored unto them, his *Name* would be Great in thoſe Parts of the World, as long as the World ſhould ſtand; adding,

Sir,

Your Subjects there, have been willing to venture their Lives, that they may enlarge Your Dominions; *The* Expedition *to* Canada, *was a great and Noble Undertaking.*

May it Pleaſe Your Majeſty, In your great Wiſdom alſo, to conſider the circumſtances of that People, as in Your Wiſdom you have conſidered the circumſtances of England, *and of* Scotland. *In* New-England *they differ from other Plantations*; *they are called* Congregational *and* Preſbyterian. *So that ſuch a Governour will not ſuit with the People of* New-England, *as may be very proper for other* Engliſh *Plantations.*

Two

Two Days after this, the King, upon what was propoſed by certain Lords, was very inquiſitive, whether He might without breach of Law, ſet a Governour over *New-England*; whereto the Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſome others of the Council, anſwered, That whatever might be the Merit of the Cauſe, inaſmuch as the *Charter* of *New-England*, ſtood vacated by a Judgment againſt them, it was in the King's Power to put them under what *Form of Government* He ſhould think beſt for them.

The King then ſaid, 'That He believed it would 'be for the Advantage of the People, in that Co-'lony, to be under a Governour appointed by Him-'ſelf: 'Nevertheleſs (becauſe of what Mr. *Mather* had ſpoken to Him) 'He would have the Agents of '*New-England* nominate a Perſon, that ſhould be a-'greeable unto the Inclinations of the People there; 'and notwithſtanding this, He would have Charter-'Priviledges reſtored and confirmed unto them.

The Day following, the King began another Voyage to *Holland*; and when the Attorney General's Draught of a Charter, according to what he took to be his Majeſty's Mind, as expreſſed in Council, was preſented at the *Council-Board*, on the eighth of *June*, ſome Objections then made, procured an Order to prepare *Minutes* for another Draught, which deprived the *New-Erglanders* of ſeveral *Eſſential Priviledges* in their other Charter. Mr. *Mather* put in his Objections, and vehemently proteſted, that he would ſooner part with his *Life*, than conſent unto thoſe *Minutes*, or any thing elſe, that ſhould infringe any Liberty or Priviledge of Right belonging unto his Country; but he was anſwered, That the Agents of *New-England* were not *Plenipotentiaries* from another Soveraign State, and that, if they would not ſubmit unto the King's Pleaſure in the ſettlement of the Country, they muſt *take what would follow.*

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The diſſatisfactory *Minutes* were, by Mr. *Mather's* Induſtry, ſent over unto the King in *Flanders*; and the Miniſters of State then with the King were earneſtly applied unto, that every miſtake about the good Settlement of *New-England* might be prevented; and the Queen Her ſelf, with Her own Royal Hand, wrote unto the King, that the Charter of *New-England* might either paſs as it was drawn by the Attorney General, or be deferred until His own Return.

But after all, His Majeſties Principal Secretary of State received a Signification of the King's Pleaſure, That the Charter of *New-England* ſhould run in the Main Points of it, as it was now granted: Only there were ſeveral Important Articles, which Mr. *Mather* by his unwearied Sollicitations obtained afterwards to be inſerted.

There were ſome now of the Opinion, That inſtead of ſubmitting to this New Settlement, they ſhould, in Hopes of getting a Reverſion of the Judgment againſt the Old Charter, declare to the Miniſters of State, That they had rather have no Charter at all, than ſuch an one as was now propoſed unto Acceptance. But Mr. *Mather*, adviſing with many unprejudiced Perſons, and Men of the greateſt Abilities in the Kingdom, *Noblemen*, *Gentlemen*, *Divines*, and *Lawyers*, they all agreed, That it was not only a lawful, but all Circumſtances then conſidered, a needful Thing, and a part of Duty and Wiſdom, to accept what was now offered, and that a peremptory Refuſal, would not only bring an Inconveniency, but a Fatal, and perhaps a Final Ruine upon the Country; whereof Mankind would lay the blame upon the Agents.

It was argued, That ſuch a Submiſſion was no Surrender of any thing; That the Judgment, not in the Court of Kings *Bench*, but in *Chancery* againſt the Old Charter, ſtanding on Record, the Patent was

was thereby Annihilated; That all attempts to have the Judgment againſt the Old Charter, taken off, would be altogether in vain, as Men and Things were then diſpoſed.

It was further argued, That the Ancient Charter of *New-England*, was in the Opinion of the Lawyers, very Defective, as to ſeveral *Powers*, which yet were abſolutely neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the Plantation: It gave the Government there no more Power, than the Corporations have in *England*; Power in Capital Caſes was not therein particularly expreſſed.

It mentioned not, an *Houſe of Deputies*, or, an *Aſſembly of Repreſentatives*; the Governour and Company had thereby (they ſaid) no Power to impoſe Taxes on the Inhabitants, that were not Freemen, or to erect Courts of Admiralty. Without ſuch Powers, the Colony could not ſubſiſt, and yet the beſt Friends that *New-England* had, of Perſons moſt learned in the Law, profeſſed, that ſuppoſe the Judgment againſt the *Maſſachuſet*-Charter might be Reverſed, yet, if they ſhould again Exert ſuch Powers, as they did before the *Quo Warranto* againſt their Charter, a new Writ of *Scire Facias* would undoubtedly be iſſued out againſt them.

It was yet further argued, That if an Act of Parliament ſhould have Reverſed the Judgment againſt the *Maſſachuſet-Charter*, without a grant of ſome other Advantages, the whole Territory had been, on many Accounts, very miſerably Incommoded: The Province of *Main*, with *Hampſhire* would have been taken from them; and *Plymouth* would have been annexed unto *New-York*; ſo, that this Colony would have been ſqueezed into an *Atom*, and not only have been render'd *Inſignificant* in it's Trade, but by having it's Militia alſo, which was veſted in the King, taken away, it's *Inſignificancies* would have become, out of meaſure, humbling; whereas now, inſtead of

ſee-

ſeeing any Relief by Act of Parliament, they would have been put under a Governour, with a Commiſſion, whereby ill Men, and the King's and Country's Enemies, might probably have crept into Opportunities to have done ten thouſand ill Things and have treated the beſt Men in the Land, after a very uncomfortable Manner.

It was laſtly, argued, That by the New Charter very great Priviledges were granted unto *New-England*; and, in ſome reſpects greater, than what they formerly enjoyed. The *Colony* is now made a *Province*, and their General Court, has, with the King's Approbation, as much Power, in *New-England*, as the King and Parliament have in *England*. They have all *Engliſh* Liberties, and can be touched by no Law, by no Tax, but of their own making. All the Liberties of their Holy Religion are for ever ſecured, and their Titles to their Lands, once, for want of ſome Forms of legal Conveyance, conteſted, are now confirmed unto them. If an ill Governour ſhould happen to be impoſed on them, what Hurt could he do to them? None, except they themſelves pleaſed; for he cannot make one Counſellour, or one Judge, or one Juſtice, or one Sheriff to ſerve his Turn: Diſadvantages enough, one would think, to diſcourage any ill Governour from deſiring to be Stationed in thoſe uneaſie Regions. The People have a Negative upon all the Executive Part of the Civil Government, as well as the Legiſlative, which is a vaſt Priviledge, enjoyed by no other Plantation in *America*, nor by *Ireland*, no, nor hitherto by *England* it ſelf. Why ſhould all of this Good be refuſed, or deſpiſed, becauſe of ſomewhat not ſo Good attending it? The Deſpiſers of ſo much Good, will certainly deſerve a Cenſure, not unlike that of *Cauſabon*, upon ſome who did not value what that learned Man counted highly valuable, *Vix illis optari quid quam pejus poteſt, quam ut ſatuitate ſua fruantur*:

Much

much good may do them with their Madneſs! All this being well conſidered, Sir *William Phips*, who had made ſo many Addreſſes for the Reſtoration of the Old Charter, under which he had ſeen his Country many Years flouriſhing, will be excuſed, by all the World from any thing of a Fault, in a moſt unexpected paſſage of his Life, which is now to be related.

Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, and Mr. *Mather*, well knowing the agreeable Diſpoſition to do God, and the King, and his Country Service, which was in Sir *William Phips*, whom they now had with them, all this while proſecuting his Deſign for *Canada*, they did unto the Council-Board, nominate *Him*, for the GOVERNOUR of *New-England*. And Mr. *Mather*, being by the Earl of *Nottingham* introduced unto His Majeſty, ſaid,

Sir,

I do, in the behalf of New-England, *moſt humbly thank your Majeſty, in that you have been pleaſed by* Charter, *to reſtore* Engliſh *Liberties unto them, to confirm them in their Properties, and, to grant them ſome peculiar Priviledges. I doubt not, but that your Subjects there, will demean themſelves with that dutiful Affection and Loyalty to your Majeſty, as that you will have cauſe to enlarge your Royal Favours towards them. And I do moſt humbly thank your Majeſty, in that you have been pleaſed to give leave unto thoſe that are concerned for* New-England, *to nominate their* Governour.

Sir *William Phips has been accordingly nominated by them at the Council-Board.* He *hath done a good Service for the Crown, by enlarging your Dominions, and reducing of* Nova Scotia *to your Obedience. I know that He will faithfully ſerve your Majeſty to the utmoſt of his Capacity; and if your Majeſty ſhall think fit to confirm him in that Place, it will be a further Obligation on your Subjects there.*

The

The Effects of all this was, that Sir *William Phips* was now inveſted with a Commiſſion under the King's Broad-Seal to be *Captain General*, and *Governour in Chief*, over the Province of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* in *New-England*: Nor do I know a Perſon in the World, that could have been propoſed more acceptable to the Body of the People throughout *New-England*, and on that ſcore, more likely and able to ſerve the King's Intereſts among the People there, under the Changes, in ſome things unacceptable, now brought upon them. He had been a *Gideon*, who had more than once ventured his Life to ſave his Country from their Enemies; and they now, with univerſal Satisfaction ſaid, *Thou ſhalt Rule over us*. Accordingly, having, with Mr. *Mather*, kiſſed the King's Hand on *January* 3*d*. 169[illegible], he haſtned away to his Government; and arriving at *New-England*, the fourteenth of *May* following attended with the *Non-ſuch-Frigate*, both of them were welcomed with the Loud Acclamations of the long *ſhaken* and *ſhatter'd* Country, whereto they were now returned with a Settlement ſo full of Happy Priviledges.

SECT. 15.

WHEN *Titus Flaminius* had freed the poor *Grecians* from the Bondage which had long oppreſſed them, and the Herald Proclaimed among them the Articles of their Freedom, they cryed out, *A Saviour! a Saviour!* with ſuch loud Acclamations, that the very *Birds* fell down from Heaven, aſtoniſh'd at the Cry. Truly, when Mr. *Mather* brought with him unto the poor *New-Englanders*, not only a *Charter*, which though in divers points wanting what both *he* and *they* had wiſhed for, yet for ever delivers them from oppreſſions on their *Chriſtian* and *Engliſh* Liberties, or, of their

heir Ancient Poſſeſſions, wherein ruining *Writs of* ntruſion had begun to Invade them all, but alſo a *GO-ERNOUR* who might call *New-England* his own ountry, and who was above moſt Men in it, full of ffection to the Intereſts of *his Country*; the ſenſible art of the People, then cauſed the ſence of the *Sal-ations* thus brought them, to reach as far as *Heaven* ſelf. The various little Humours then working a-ong the People, did not hinder the *Great and Ge-eral Court* of the Province, to appoint a Day of So-mn *THANKSGIVING* to Almighty God for *anting* (as the Printed Order expreſs'd it) *a Safe Ar-val to His Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend r.* Increaſe Mather, *who have induſtriouſly endeavoured e Service of this People, and have brought over with em, a Settlement of Government, in which Their Ma-ſties have Graciouſly given us diſtinguiſhing Marks of eir Royal Favour and Goodneſs.*

And as the Obliged People thus gave *Thanks* unto e God of Heaven, ſo they ſent an Addreſs of *Thanks* nto Their Majeſties, with other Letters of *Thanks* to ſome Chief Miniſters of State, for the *Favoura-e Aſpect* herein caſt upon the Province.

Nor were the People miſtaken, when they promiſed emſelves all the Kindneſs imaginable from this *Go-rnour*, and expected, *Under his ſhadow we ſhall live e among the Heathen:* Why might they not look *Halcyon*-days, when they had ſuch a *Kings-Fiſher* their Governour?

Governour *Phips* had, as every Raiſed and Uſeful rſon muſt have, his *envious Enemies*; but the paleſt vy of them, who turned their worſt Enmity upon m, could not hinder them from confeſſing, *That ac-ding to the beſt of his Apprehenſion, he ever ſought the d of his Country:* His Country quickly felt this innumerable Occaſions; and they had it eminently monſtrated, as well in his promoting and Approving Councils Choice of good *Judges*, *Juſtices* and *She-riffs*,

riffs, which being once eſtabliſhed, no *Succeſſour* could remove them, as in his urging the *General Aſſembly* to make themſelves happy by preparing a Body of Good Laws, as faſt as they could, which being paſſed by him in his Time, could not be nulled by any other after him.

He would often ſpeak to the Members of the General Aſſembly, in ſuch Terms as theſe, *Gentlemen you may make your ſelves, as eaſie as you will for ever conſider what may have any tendency to your welfare and you may be ſure that whatever Bills you offer me conſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of the Crown I'll paſs them readily; I do but ſeek Opportunities ſerve you; had it not been for the ſake of this thing I had never accepted the Government of this Province and when ever you have ſettled ſuch a Body of good Laws, that no Perſon coming after me, may make you uneaſie; I ſhall deſire not one Day longer to continue the Government.* Accordingly, he ever paſſed every Act for the welfare of the Province propoſed unto him; and inſtead of ever putting them upon Buying his Aſſent unto any good Act, he was much forwarder to give it, than they were to aſk it. Nor indeed, had the *Hunger of a Salary*, any ſuch Impreſſion upon him, as to make him decline doing all poſſible Service, for the Publick while he was not ſure of having any proportionable, or honourable acknowledgments.

But yet he minded the Preſervation of the King's Rights, with as careful and faithful a Zeal, as became a good Steward for the Crown: And, indeed he ſtudied nothing more, than to obſerve ſuch a Temper in all things, as to extinguiſh what others have gone to diſtinguiſh; even the Pernicious Notion of a ſeparate Intereſt. There was a Time when the *Roman* Empire, was infeſted with a vast number of Governours, who were infamous for Infinite Avarice and Villany; and referring to this Time

the Apoſtle *John* had a Viſion of, *People killed with the Beaſts of the Earth.*

But Sir *William Phips* was none of thoſe Governours; wonderfully contrary to this wretchedneſs, was the Happineſs of *New-England*, when they had Governour *Phips*, uſing the tenderneſs of a Father towards the People, and being of the Opinion, *Ditare magis eſſe Regium quàm Diteſcere*, that it was a braver Thing to enrich the People, than to grow rich himſelf. A *Father*, I ſaid; and what if I had ſaid, an *Angel* too. If I ſhould from *Clemens Alexandrinus* from *Theodoret*, and from *Jerom*, and others among the Ancients, as well as from *Calvin* and *Bucan*, and *Peter Martyr*, and *Chemnitius* and *Bullinger*, and a thouſand more among the *Moderns*, bring Authorities for the Aſſertion, *That each Country and Province, is under the ſpecial care of ſome Angel, by a ſingular Deputation of Heaven aſſigned thereunto*, I could back them with a far greater Authority than any of them all. The Scripture it ſelf does plainly aſſert it: And hence the moſt Learned *Grotius*, writing of *Common-Wealths*, has a paſſage to this purpoſe, *His ſingulis, ſuos Attributos, eſſe Angelos, ex Daniele, magno conſenſu, & Judæi & Chriſtiani veteres colligebant.*

But *New-England* had now, beſides the *Guardian-Angel*, who more inviſibly intended it's welfare, a *Governour*, that became wonderfully agreeable thereunto, by his whole Imitation of ſuch a Guardian-Angel. He employed his whole Strength, to guard his People from all Diſaſters, which threatned them either by Sea, or Land; and it was remark'd, that nothing remarkably Diſaſtrous did befal that People, from the Time of his Arrival to the Government, until there arrived an Order for his leaving it: (Except one Thing which was begun before he entred upon the Government:) But inſtead thereof, the *Indians* were notably defeated, in the Aſſaults,

which they now made upon the *Engliſh*, and ſeveral *French* Ships did alſo very advantageouſly fall into his Hands; yea, there was by his means a Peace reſtored unto the Province, that had been divers Years languiſhing under the Hectic Feaver of a Lingring War.

And there was this one thing more, that rendered his Government the more deſirable; That whereas 'tis impoſſible for a meer Man to govern without ſome *Error*, when ever, this Governour was adviſed of any Error in any of his Adminiſtrations, he would immediately retract it, and revoke it, with all poſſible ingenuity; ſo that if any occaſion of juſt complaint aroſe, it was uſually his endeavour, that it ſhould not long be complain'd of

———*O, Fœlices nimium, ſua ſi Bona, norânt,*
Nov-Angli.———

But having in a *Parentheſis*, newly intimated, that His Excellency, when he entred on his Government found one Thing, that was *remarkably Diſaſtrous* begun upon it: Of that one Thing, we will now give ſome Account.

Reader, prepare to be entertained, with as Prodigious Matters, as can be put into any Hiſtory! And let him that writes the next *Thaumatographia Pneumatica*, allow to theſe Prodigies the chief Place among the wonders.

SECT. 16.

ABOUT the Time of our Bleſſed Lord's coming to Reſide on Earth, we read of ſo many *poſſeſſed with Devils* that it is commonly thought the *Number* of ſuch Miſerable *Energumens* was then encreaſed above what had been uſual in other Ages; and the *Reaſon* of that In-

creaſe

creaſe, has been made a Matter of ſome Enquiry. Now though the *Devils* might herein deſign by *Preternatural Operations* to Blaſt the *Miracles* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which Point they Gained among the Blaſphemous *Phariſees*; and the *Devils* might herein alſo deſign a villanous *Imitation* of what was coming to paſs in the *Incarnation* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, wherein *God* came to *dwell in Fleſh*; yet I am not without ſuſpicion that there may be ſomething further in the Conjecture of the Learned *Bartholinus* hereupon, who ſays, It was *Quod judæi præter modum, Artibus Magicis dediti Dæmonem Advocaverint*, the *Jews*, by the frequent uſe of *Magical Tricks*, called in the *Devils* among them.

It is very certain, there were hardly any People in the World grown more fond of *Sorceries*, than that unhappy People: The *Talmuds* tell us of the little *Parchments* with Words upon them, which were their common *Amulets*, and of the *Charms* which they mutter'd over *Wounds*, and of the various *Enchantments* which they uſed againſt all ſorts of Diſaſters whatſoever. It is affirmed in the *Talmuds*, that no leſs than Twenty four Scholars in one School, were killed by *Witchcraft*; and that no leſs than *fourſcore* Perſons were Hanged for *Witchcraft* by one Judge in one Day. The *Gloſs* adds upon it, *That the Women of* Iſrael *had generally fallen to the Practice of Witchcrafts*; and therefore it was required, That there ſhould be ſtill choſen into the Council, One ſkilful in the *Arts of Sorcerers*, and able thereby to diſcover who might be guilty of thoſe *Black Arts* among ſuch as were accuſed before them.

Now the Arrival of Sir *William Phips* to the Government of *New-England*, was at a Time, when a Governour would have had Occaſion for all the Skill in *Sorcerie*, that was ever neceſſary to a *Jewiſh Councellor*; A Time when Scores of poor people had newly fallen under, a prodigious *Poſſeſſion of Devils*, which it was then generally thought had been by *Witchcrafts* intro-

duced. It is to be confeſſed and Bewailed, That many Inhabitants of *New-England*, and Young people eſpecially, had been Led away with Little *Sorceries*, wherein they *did Secretly thoſe Things that were not Right againſt the Lord their God*; They would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practiſe deteſtable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keys*, and *Peaſe*, and *Nails* and *Horſe-ſhoes*, and other Implements, to Learn the Things, for which they had a forbidden and impious Curioſity. Wretched Books had ſtoln into the Land, wherein Fools were inſtructed, how to become able Fortune-Tellers: Among which, I wonder that a blacker Brand is not ſet upon that Fortune-telling Wheel, which that Sham-Scribler, that goes under the Letters of *R. B.* has propoſed in his *Delights for the Ingenious*, as an *honeſt and pleaſant Recreation*: And by theſe Books, the minds of many had been ſo poiſoned, that they ſtudied this *Finer Witchcraft*; until, 'tis well, if ſome of them were not betray'd, into what is groſſer, and more ſenſible and Capital. Although theſe *Diabolical Divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the *whole World*, than they are in the Country of *New-England*, yet, That being a Country Devoted unto the Worſhip and Service of the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* above the *Reſt of the World*. *He* ſignalized his Vengeance againſt theſe wickedneſſes, with ſuch extraordinary Diſpenſations, as have not been often ſeen in others Places.

The *Devils*, which had been ſo play'd withal, and, it may be, by ſome few Criminals more Explicitely engaged and imployed, now broke in upon the Country, after as aſtoniſhing a manner, as was ever heard of. Some ſcores of People, firſt about *Salem*, the Centre and firſt Born, of all the Towns in the Colony, and afterwards in ſeveral other Places, were arreſted with many *Præternatural Vexations* upon their Bodies, and a variety of cruel Torments, which were evi-

evidently inflicted from the *Dæmons* of the *Invisible World*. The People that were *infected* and *infested* with such *Dæmons*, in a few Days Time, arrived unto such a *Refining Alteration* upon their Eyes, that they could see their Tormentors; they saw a *Devil* of a little *Stature*, and of a Tawny *Colour*, attended still with *Spectres*, that appeared in more Humane Circumstances.

These *Tormentors*, tendred unto the Afflicted, a *Book*, requiring them to *Sign* it, or to *Touch* it, at least, in token of their consenting to be Listed in the Service of the *Devil*; which, they refusing to do, the *Spectres* under the command of that *Blackman*, as they called him, would apply themselves to Torture them, with prodigious Molestations.

The afflicted Wretches were horribly *Distorted* and *Convulsed*; they were *Pinched* Black and Blew; *Pins* would be run every where in their Flesh; they would be *scalded* until they had *Blisters* raised on them; and a thousand other things before Hundreds of Witnesses were done unto them, evidently *Præternatural*: For, if it were *Præternatural*, to keep a rigid *Fast*, for *Nine*, yea, for *Fifteen* Days together; or, if it were *Præternatural*, to have ones Hands *ty'd* close together, with a *Rope* to be plainly seen, and then by *unseen Hands* presently pull'd up a great way from the Earth, before a croud of People: Such *Præternatural* Things were endured by them.

But of all the *Præternatural* Things which befel these People, there were none more *unaccountable* than those, wherein the præstigious *Dæmons* would ever now and then cover the most *Corporeal* Things in the World, with a *Fascinating Mist* of *Invisibility*. As now; A Person was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no body else in the Room could see either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*: At last, in her Agonies, giving a catch at the *Spectre*, she pulled the *Spindle* away;

and

and it was no ſooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then preſent, beheld that it was indeed a real, proper, Iron *Spindle*; which when they locked up very ſafe, it was nevertheleſs by the *Dæmon* taken away to do farther Miſchief.

Again; A Perſon was haunted by a moſt abuſive *Spectre*, which came to her, ſhe ſaid, with a *Sheet* about her, though ſeen to none but her ſelf. After ſhe had undergone a deal of Teaze, from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, ſhe gave a violent *ſnatch* at the *Sheet* that was upon it; where-from ſhe tore a Corner, which in her Hand, immediately was beheld by all that were preſent; a palpable Corner of a *Sheet:* And her Father, which was now holding of her, *catch'd*, that he might *keep*, what his Daughter had ſo ſtrangely ſiezed; but the *Spectre* had like to have wrung his Hand off, by endeavouring to wreſt it from him: However he ſtill held it; and ſeveral times this odd Accident was renewed in the Family. There wanted not the *Oaths* of good credible People, to theſe particulars.

Alſo, It is well known, that theſe wicked *Spectres* did proceed ſo far as to ſteal ſeveral Quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Individual Money, was dropt ſometimes out of the Air, before ſufficient *Spectators*, into the Hands of the Afflicted, while the *Spectres* were urging them to ſubſcribe their *Covenant with Death*. Moreover, *Poiſons* to the ſtanders-by, wholly *Inviſible*, were ſometimes forced upon the Afflicted; which when they have with much Reluctancy ſwallowed, they have *ſwoln* preſently, ſo that the common Medicines for *Poiſons* have been found neceſſary to relieve them: Yea, ſometimes the *Spectres* in the *ſtruggles*, have ſo dropt the *Poiſons*, that the Standers by have ſmelt them, and view'd them, and beheld the *Pillows* of the miſerable ſtained with them.

Yet more, the miſerable have complained bitterly of *burning Rags* run into their forceably diſtended *Mouths*, and though no Body could ſee any ſuch *Clothes*, or, indeed any *Fires* in the Chambers, yet preſently the *ſcalds* were ſeen plainly, by every Body, on the Mouths of the Complainers, and not only the *Smell*, but the *Smoke* of the Burning, ſenſibly fill'd the Chambers.

Once more; the miſerable exclaimed extreamly of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire, on the Hearth, to mark them; now though the ſtanders-by could ſee no *Irons*, yet they could ſee diſtinctly the Print of them in the Aſhes, and *ſmell* them too as they were carried by the *not-ſeen Furies*, unto the Poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and thoſe Poor Creatures were thereupon ſo *ſtigmatized* with them, that they will bear the *Marks* of them to their Dying Day. Nor are theſe the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the Inhabitants of *New-England*.

Flaſhy People may *Burleſque* theſe Things, but when Hundreds of the moſt ſober People in a Country, where they have as much *Mother-Wit* certainly, as the reſt of Mankind, know them to be *True*, nothing but the abſurd and froward Spirit of *Sadduciſm* can Queſtion them. I have not yet mentioned ſo much as one Thing that will not be juſtified, if it be required, by the *Oaths* of more conſiderate Perſons than any that can ridicule theſe odd *Phænomena*.

But the worſt part of this aſtoniſhing *Tragedy* is yet behind; wherein Sir *William Phips*, at laſt, being dropt, as it were from the *Machin of Heaven*, was an Inſtrument of eaſing the Diſtreſſes of the Land, now *ſo darkned by the Wrath of the Lord of Hoſts*. There were very worthy Men upon the ſpot, where the *aſſault from Hell* was firſt made, who apprehended themſelves call'd from the *God of Heaven*, to

ſift

ſift the buſineſs unto the bottom of it; and, in deed, the continual *Impreſſions*, which the out-cries and the havocks of the *afflicted People* that lived nigh unto them, cauſed on their Minds, gave no little Edge to this Apprehenſion.

The Perſons were Men eminent for *Wiſdom* and *Virtue*, and they went about their enquiry into the matter as *driven* unto it, by a *Conſcience* of Duty to God and the World. They did in the firſt Place, take it for granted, that there are *Witches*, or wicked Children of Men, who upon *Covenanting* with, and *Commiſſioning* of *Evil Spirits*, are attended by their Miniſtry to accompliſh the Things deſired of them: To ſatisfie them in which Perſwaſion they had not only the *Aſſertions* of the *Holy Scripture*; Aſſertions, which the *Witch-Advocates* cannot evade without ſhifts, too fooliſh for any *Prudent*, or too profane for any *Honeſt* Man, to uſe; and they had not only the well-atteſted *Relations* of the graveſt Authors from *Bodin* to *Bovet*, and from *Binſfeld* to *Bromhal* and *Baxter*, to deny all which, would be as reaſonable as to turn the Chronicles of all Nations into Romances, of *Don Quixot*, and the *ſeven Champions*; but they had alſo an *Ocular Demonſtration* in one, who a little before had been executed for *Witchcraft*, when *Joſeph Dudley* Eſquire was the Chief Judge. There was one whoſe *Magical Images* were found, and who *confeſſing her Deeds*, (when a Jury of Doctors returned her, *Compos Mentis*) actually ſhewed the whole Court, by what *Ceremonies* uſed unto them, ſhe directed her *Familiar Spirits* how and where to Cruciate the Objects of her Malice; and the Experiments being made over and over again, before the whole Court, the *Effect* followed exactly, in the Hurts done to People at a diſtance from her. The Exiſtence of ſuch *Witches* was now taken for granted by thoſe good Men wherein ſo far the generality of reaſonable Men have

thought

thought, *they ran well*; and they ſoon received the *Confeſſions* of ſome *accuſed* Perſons to confirm them in it; but then, they took one thing more for granted, wherein 'tis now as generally thought they *went out of the Way*. The Afflicted People vehemently accuſed ſeveral Perſons in ſeveral Places, that the *Spectres* which afflicted them, did exactly reſemble *Them*; until the importunity of the Accuſations did provoke the Magiſtrates to examine them. When many of the *accuſed* came upon their Examination, it was found, that the *Dæmons*, then a thouſand ways abuſing of the poor *afflicted* People, had with a marvellous exactneſs *repreſented* them; yea it was found that many of the *accuſed*, but caſting their Eye on the *afflicted*, the *afflicted*, though their Faces were never ſo much another way, would fall down and lye in a ſort of a ſwoon, wherein they would continue, whatever Hands were laid upon them, until the Hands of the *accuſed* came to touch them, and *then* they would revive immediately: And it was found, that various kinds of *natural Actions* done by many of the *accuſed* in or to their own Bodies, as *Leaning*, *Bending*, *Turning* Awry, or *Squeezing* their Hands or the like, were preſently attended with the like things *præternaturally* done upon the Bodies of the *Afflicted*, though they were ſo far aſunder that the *Afflicted* could not at all obſerve the *Accuſed*.

It was alſo found that the Fleſh of the Afflicted was often *Bitten*, at ſuch a rate, that not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Fleſh*, but the very *Slaver* of Spittle too: And there would appear juſt ſuch a *ſet of Teeth*, as was in the *Accuſed*, even ſuch as might be clearly diſtinguiſhed from other Peoples. And uſually the *Afflicted* went through a terrible deal of ſeeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and muſt be long waited on, before they could get a Breathing Space from their *Torments*, to give in their Teſtimonies.

Now many good Men took up an Opinion, That the *Providence* of God would not permit an *Innocent Perſon* to come under ſuch a *Spectral Repreſentation*; and that a concurrence of ſo many Circumſtances, would prove an *Accuſed* Perſon to be in a *Confederacy* with the *Dæmons* thus afflicting of the Neighbours; they judged, that except theſe Things might amount unto a *Conviction*, it would ſcarce be poſſible ever to *Convict* a *Witch*; and they had ſome *Philoſophical Schemes* of *Witchcraft*, and of the Method and Manner, wherein *Magical Poiſons* operate, which further ſupported them in their Opinion.

Sundry of the *Accuſed* Perſons were brought unto their *Trial*, while this Opinion was yet prevailing in the Minds of the *Judges*, and the *Juries*, and perhaps the moſt of the People in the County, then moſtly Suffering; and though againſt ſome of them that were Tried, there came in ſo much *other Evidence* of their Diabolical Compacts, that ſome of the moſt *Judicious* and yet *vehement* Oppoſers of the Notions then in Vogue, publickly declared, *Had they themſelves been on the Bench, they could not have Acquitted them*; nevertheleſs, divers were Condemned, againſt whom the *chief Evidence* was founded in the *Spectral Exhibitions*.

And it happening, that ſome of the *Accuſed* coming to confeſs themſelves *Guilty*, their *Shapes* were no more ſeen by any of the *Afflicted*, though the Confeſſion had been kept never ſo Secret, but inſtead thereof the *Accuſed* themſelves became in all Vexations juſt like the *Afflicted*; this yet more confirmed many in the Opinion, that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickned them yet more to Act upon it, was, That the Afflicted were frequently entertained with *Apparitions* of *Ghoſts* at the ſame Time, that the *Spectres* of the ſuppoſed *Witches* troubled them: Which *Ghoſts* always caſt the Beholders into far more Conſternation than any of the *Spectres* and when they exhibited themſelves, they cryed out

of being *Murdered* by the *Witchcrafts*, or other Violences of the Perſons repreſented in the *Spectres*. Once or Twice, theſe Apparitions were ſeen by others at the very ſame time that they ſhew'd themſelves to the *afflicted*, and ſeldom were they ſeen at all, but when ſomething unuſual, and ſuſpicious, had attended the Death of the Party thus appearing.

The *Afflicted* People, many times, had never heard any thing before of the Perſons appearing in *Ghoſt*, or of the Perſons *Accuſed* by the *Apparitions*; and yet the Accuſed upon Examination have confeſſed the Murders of thoſe very Perſons, though theſe *Accuſed* alſo knew nothing of the *Apparitions*, that had come in againſt them; and the *Afflicted* Perſons likewiſe without any private Agreement or Colluſion, when ſucceſſively brought into a Room, have all aſſerted the ſame *Apparations* to be there before them: Theſe *Murders* did ſeem to call for an Enquiry.

On the other Part, there were many Perſons of great Judgment, Piety, and Experience, who from the beginning were very much diſſatisfied at theſe Proceedings; they feared, leſt the *Devil* would get ſo far into the *Faith* of the People, that for the ſake of many *Truths*, which they might find him telling of them, they would come, at length, to believe all his *Lyes*, whereupon what a Deſolation of *Names*, yea and of *Lives* alſo, would enſue, a Man might without much *Witchcraft* be able to Prognoſticate; and they feared, leſt in ſuch an extraordinary Deſcent of *Wicked Spirits* from their *High Places*, upon us, there might ſuch *Principles* be taken up, as, when put into *Practice*, would unavoidably cauſe the *Righteous to periſh with the Wicked*, and procure the Blood-ſhed of Perſons like the *Gibeonites*, whom ſome learned Men ſuppoſe to be under a falſe Pretence of *Witchcraft*, by *Saul* exterminated.

However uncommon it might be, for *guiltleſs Perſons* to come under ſuch unaccountable Circumſtances,

as were on ſo many of the Accuſed, they held, *Some things there are, which if ſuffered to be Common, would ſubvert Government, and Disband and Ruine Humane Society, yet God ſometimes may ſuffer ſuch Things to evene, that we may know thereby, how much we are beholden to him, for that reſtraint which he lays upon the Infernal Spirits, who would elſe reduce a World into a* Chaos. They had already known of one at the Town of *Groton*, hideouſly agitated by *Devils*, who in her fits, cried out much againſt a very Godly Woman in the Town, and when that Woman approached unto her, though the Eyes of the Creature, were never ſo ſhut, ſhe yet manifeſted a violent Senſe of her approach: But, when the Gracious Woman thus Impeached, had prayed earneſtly with and for this Creature; then inſtead of crying out againſt her any more, ſhe owned, that ſhe had in all, been deluded by the *Devil.* They now ſaw, that the more the *Afflicted* were Hearkned unto, the more the number of the *Accuſed* encreaſed; until, at laſt, many ſcores were *cryed out* upon, and among them, ſome, who by the *Unblameableneſs*, yea and *Serviceableneſs* of their whole Converſation, had obtained the Juſt Reputation of *Good People* among all that were acquainted with them. The Character of the *Afflicted* likewiſe added unto the common Diſtaſt, for though ſome of *them* too, were *Good People*, yet others of them, and ſuch of them as were moſt Flippent at *Accuſing*, had a far other Character.

In fine, the Country was in a dreadful *Ferment*, and wiſe Men foreſaw a long Train of Diſmal, and Bloody Conſequences. Hereupon they firſt adviſed, that the *Afflicted* might be kept aſunder, in the cloſeſt Privacy; and one particular Perſon, (whom I have cauſe to know) in purſuance of this Advice, offered himſelf ſingly to provide Accommodations for any *ſix* of them, that ſo the Succeſs of more than ordinary *Prayer* with *Faſting* might with *Patience*, be *experienced*, before any other Courſes were taken.

And

And Sir *William Phips* arriving to his Government, after this *enſnaring horrible Storm* was begun, did conſult the neighbouring Miniſters of the Province, who made unto His Excellency and the Council a return, (drawn up, at their deſire, by Mr. *Mather* the Younger as I have been inform'd) wherein they declared.

'We Judge, That in the Proſecution of Theſe and 'all ſuch *Witchcrafts*, there is need of a very Critical 'and Exquiſite Caution. Leſt, by too much Credulity, for things received only upon the *Devil's Autho-* 'rity, there be a Door opened for a long Train of miſerable Conſequences, and Satan get an Advantage 'over us; for *we ſhould not be Ignorant of his Devi-* 'ces.

'As in complaints upon *Witchcrafts*, there may be 'Matters of *Enquiry*, which do not amount unto Mat-'ters of *Preſumption*; and there may be Matters of 'Preſumption, which yet may not be reckoned Matters 'of *Conviction*, ſo 'tis neceſſary, that all Proceedings 'thereabout, be managed with an *exceeding Tenderneſs* towards thoſe that may be complained of; eſpecially if they have been Perſons formerly of an *unblemiſhed Reputation*.

'When the *firſt Enquiry* is made into the Circumſtances of ſuch as may ly under any juſt Suſpicion of *Witchcrafts*, we could wiſh, that there may be admitted as little as is poſſible of ſuch *Noiſe*, *Company*, and *Openneſs*, as may too haſtily expoſe them that are Examined; and that there may nothing be uſed as a *Teſt* for the Trial of the Suſpected, the lawfulneſs whereof may be doubted among the People of God: But that the Directions given by ſuch judicious Writers as *Perkins* and *Bernard*, be conſulted in ſuch a Caſe.

'*Preſumptions*, whereupon Perſons may be committed, and much more *Convictions*, whereupon Perſons may be condemned, as guilty of *Witchcrafts*, ought cer-

'tainly to be more considerable, than barely the *Ac-*
'*cused* Persons being *represented* by a *Spectre* to the Af-
'flicted: Inasmuch as it is an undoubted, and a noto-
'rious Thing, that a *Dæmon* may by God's Permission,
'appear, even to ill Purposes, in the shape of an *Inno-*
'*cent*, yea, and a *Virtuous* Man: Nor can we esteem *Al-*
'*terations* made in the *Sufferers*, by a *look* or *touch* of
'the *Accused*, to be an infallible Evidence of Guilt;
'but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's
'*Legerdemaines*.

'We know not whether some *remarkable Affronts*
'given to the *Devils*, by our disbelieving of those Te-
'stimonies whose whole Force and Strength, is from
'*them* alone, may not put a Period unto the Progress
'of a direful Calamity begun upon us, in the *Accusa-*
'*tion* of so many Persons, whereof, we hope, some are
'yet *clear from the great Transgression*, laid unto their
'Charge.

The Ministers of the Province also being Jealous, lest this *Counsel* should not be duly followed, requested the President of *Harvard*-Colledge to Compose and Publish, (which he did) some *Cases of Conscience* referring to these Difficulties: In which Treatise he did, with Demonstrations of incomparable *Reason* and *Reading* evince it, That *Satan* may appear in the Shape of an *Innocent* and a *Virtuous* Person, to afflict those that suffer by the *Diabolical Molestations*: And that the *Ordeal* of the *Sight*, and the *Touch*, is not a Conviction of a *Covenant* with the Devil, but liable to great Exceptions against the *lawfulness*, as well as the *Evidence* of it: And that either a Free and Fair *Confession* of the Criminals, or the Oath of two Credible Persons proving such Things against the Person Accused, as none but such as have a Familiarity with the Devil can know, or do, is necessary to the Proof of the Crime. Thus,

Cum

Cum miſit Natura Feras, & Monſtra per Orbem,
Miſit & Alciden qui Fera Monſtra domet.

The *Dutch* and *French* Miniſters in the Province of *New-York*, having likewiſe about the ſame Time, their Judgment aſked by the *Chief Judge* of that Province, who was then a Gentleman of *New-England*, They gave it in under their Hands, That if we Believe no *Venefick Witchcraft*, we muſt Renounce the *Scripture* of God, and the *Conſent* of almoſt all the World; but that yet the *Apparition* of a Perſon Afflicting another, is a very Inſufficient Proof of a *Witch*; nor is it Inconſiſtent with the Holy and Righteous Government of God over men, to permit the Affliction of the Neighbours, by Devils in the *ſhape* of *Good men*; and that a *Good Name* obtained by a *Good Life*, ſhould not be Loſt by Meer *Spectral Accuſations*.

Now upon a Deliberate Review of theſe Things, His Excellency firſt *Reprieved*, and then *Pardoned* many of them that had been Condemned; and there fell out ſeveral ſtrange Things, that cauſed the Spirit of the Country to run, as vehemently upon the *acquitting* of all the *Accuſed*, as it by miſtake ran at firſt upon the *Condemning* of them. Some that had been zealouſly of the Mind, that the *Devil's* could not in the *Shapes* of good Men, afflict other Men, were terribly Confuted, by having their own *Shapes* and the *Shapes* of their moſt intimate and valued Friends thus Abuſed. And though more than twice Twenty, had made ſuch voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontrolable Confeſſions, that if they were all *Sham*, there was therein the greateſt Violation made by the Efficacy of the *Inviſible World*, upon the *Rules of Underſtanding Humane Affairs*, that was ever ſeen ſince *God made Man upon the Earth*, yet they did ſo recede from their *Confeſſions*, that it was very clear, ſome of them had been hitherto, in a ſort of a *Præternatural Dream*,

wherein, they had ſaid *of themſelves*, they *knew not what themſelves*.

In fine, The laſt Courts that ſate upon this *Thorny Buſineſs*, finding that it was impoſſible to Penetrate into the whole Meaning of the Things that had happened, and that ſo many *unſearchable Cheats* were enterwoven into the *Concluſion* of a Myſterious Buſineſs, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the *Beginning* of it, they *cleared* the *Accuſed* as faſt as they *Tried* them; and within a little while the *Afflicted* were moſt of them delivered out of their *Troubles* alſo: And the Land had Peace reſtored unto it, by the *God of Peace*, *treading Satan under foot*. *Eraſmus*, among other Hiſtorians, does tell us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a *Dæmon* appearing on the Top of a Chimney, threatned that he would ſet the Town on *Fire*, and at length ſcattering ſome Aſhes abroad, the whole Town was preſently and horribly Burnt unto the Ground.

Sir *William Phips* now beheld ſuch *Dæmons* hideouſly ſcattering *Fire* about the Country, in the Exaſperations, which the Minds of Men were on theſe Things riſing unto; and therefore when he had well Canvaſed a *Cauſe*, which perhaps might have puzzled the Wiſdom of the Wiſeſt Men on Earth to have managed, without any *Error* in their Adminiſtrations, he thought, if it would be any *Error* at all, it would certainly be the *ſafeſt*, for him, to put a ſtop unto all future Proſecutions as far as it lay in him to do it.

He did ſo; and for it, he had not only the Printed Acknowledgments of the *New-Erglanders*, who publickly thanked him, 'As one of the Tribe of *Zebulun*, 'raiſed up from among themſelves, and *Spirited* as well 'as *Commiſſioned* to be the *Steers-man* of a Veſſel be-'fogg'd in the *Mare Mortuum* of *Witchcraft*, who now 'ſo happily *ſteered* her Courſe, that ſhe eſcaped Ship-'wrack, and was ſafely again Moored under the Cape 'of *Good Hope*; and cut aſunder the *Circæan* Knot of 'Enchantment, more difficult to be Diſſolved than the 'famous *Gordian* one of Old. But

But the *QUEEN* also did him the Honour, to write unto him, those Gracious Letters, wherein Her Majesty commended his Conduct in these *Inexplicable* Matters. And I did right in calling these Matters *Inexplicable*. For if, after the Kingdom of *Sweden* (in the Year, 1669. and 1670.) had some Hundreds of their Children by Night often carried away by *Spectres*, to an *Hellish Rendezvous*, where the Monsters that so *Spirited* them, did every way *Tempt* them to Associate with them; and the Judges of the Kingdom after *extraordinary Supplications* to Heaven, upon a strict Enquiry, were so satisfied with the *Confessions* of more than Twenty of the *Accused*, agreeing exactly unto the *Depositions* of the *Afflicted*, that they put several scores of *Witches* to Death, whereupon the Confusions came unto a Period; yet after all the chiefest Persons in the Kingdom would Question whether there were any *Witchcrafts* at all, in the whole Affair; it must not be wondred at, if the People of *New-England* are, to this Hour, full of *Doubts*, about the *steps* which were taken, while a *War* from the *Invisible World* was Terrifying of them, and whether they did not kill some of their *own side* in the *Smoke* and *Noise* of this Dreadful *War*. And it will be yet less wondred at, if we consider, that we have seen the whole *English Nation* alarumed with a *Plot*, and both *Houses* of *Parliament* upon good Grounds, Voting their Sense of it, and many Persons most justly *Hang'd*, *Drawn and Quarter'd*, for their share in it: When yet there are enough, who to this Day, will pretend that they cannot comprehend how much of it, is to be accounted *Credible*. However having related these wonderful Passages, whereof, if the *Veracity* of the Relator in any one Point be contested, there are whole *Clouds of Witnesses* to vindicate it, I will take my leave of the Matter with an wholesome Caution of *Lactantius*, which, it may be, some other Parts of the World besides *New-England* may have occasion to think upon; *Efficiunt Dæmones, ut*

quæ

quæ non ſunt, ſic tamen, quaſi ſint, conſpicienda Hominibus exhibeant.

But the *Devils* being thus vanquiſhed, we ſhall *next* hear, that ſome of his moſt devoted and reſembling *Children*, are ſo too.

SECT. 17.

AS one of the firſt Actions *done* by Sir *William*, after he came to the Age of *Doing*, was to ſave the Lives of many poor People from the Rage of the *Diabolical Indians* in the *Eaſtern* Parts of the Country, ſo now he was come to the Government, his Mind was very vehemently ſet upon recovering of thoſe Parts, from the Miſeries, which a New and a Long War of the *Indians* had brought upon them. His *Birth* and *Youth*, in the *Eaſt*, had rendred him well known unto the *Indians* there; he had Hunted, and Fiſhed many a weary Day, in his Childhood with them; and when thoſe rude Savages had got the Story by the End, that *he had found a Ship full of Money, and was now become all-one-a-King!* They were mightily aſtoniſhed at it: But when they farther underſtood that he was become the Governour of *New-England*, it added a further Degree of Conſternation to their Aſtoniſhment. He likewiſe was better acquainted with the Scituation of thoſe Regions, than moſt other Men; and he conſider'd what vaſt Advantages might ariſe, to no leſs, than the whole *Engliſh* Nation, from the *Lumber*, and *Fiſhery* and *Naval-ſtores*, which thoſe Regions might ſoon ſupply the whole Nation withal, if once they were well ſettled with good Inhabitants.

Wherefore Governour *Phips*, took the firſt Opportunity, to raiſe an Army, with which he Travelled in Perſon, unto the *Eaſt-Country* to find out and cut off the Barbarous Enemy, which had continued for near four Years together, making horrible Havock on the Planta-

Plantations, that lay all along the Northern *Frontiers* of *New-England*: And having purſued thoſe worſe than *Scythian Wolves*, till they could be no longer followed, he did, with a very laudable *Skill*, and unuſual *Speed*, and with leſs *Coſt* unto the Crown, than perhaps ever ſuch a Thing was done in the World, erect a ſtrong *Fort*, at *Pemmaquid*,

This *Fort*, he contrived ſo much in the very Heart of the Country now poſſeſſed by the Enemy, as very much to hinder the ſeveral Nations of the Tawnies from *Clanning* together, for the common Diſturbance; and his Deſign was, that a ſufficient Garriſon being here poſted, they might from thence, upon Advice, iſſue forth to ſurprize that ferocient Enemy. At the ſame time he would fain have gone in Perſon up the Bay of *Funda*, with a convenient *Force*, to have ſpoiled a Neaſt of Rebellious *Frenchmen*, who being Rendezvouzed at St. *John's*, had a yearly Supply of Ammunition from *France*, with which they ſtill ſupplied the *Indians*, unto the extream Detriment of the *Engliſh*, but his Friends for a long time, would not permit him to expoſe himſelf unto the Inconveniencies of that Expedition.

However, he took ſuch Methods, that the *Indian Kings of the* Eaſt, within a little while, had their Stomachs brought down, to ſue and beg for a *Peace*; And making their Appearance at the New-Fort, in *Pemmaquid*, Aug. 11. 1693. They did there Sign an Inſtrument, wherein, lamenting the Miſeries which their Adherence to the *French Counſels*, had brought them into, they did for themſelves and with the Conſent of all the *Indians* from the River of *Merrimack*, to the moſt Eaſterly Bounds of all the Province, acknowledge their Hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of *England*, and ſolemnly Covenant, Promiſe, and Agree, to and with Sir *William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief over the Province, and his Succeſſors in that Place, *That* they would

would for ever ceaſe all Acts of Hoſtility towards the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and hold a Conſtant Friendſhip with all the *Engliſh*. *That* they would utterly abandon the *French* Intereſts, and not ſuccour or conceal any Enemy *Indians*, from *Canada* or elſewhere, that ſhould come to any of their Plantations within the *Engliſh* Territories: *That* all *Engliſh* Captives, which they had among them, ſhould be returned with all poſſible ſpeed, and no Ranſom or Payment be given for any of them; *That* their Majeſties Subjects the *Engliſh*, now ſhould quietly enter upon, and for ever improve and enjoy all and ſingular their Rights of Lands, and former Poſſeſſions, within the Eaſtern Parts of the Province, without any claims from any *Indians*, or being ever diſturbed therein: *That* all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter might be allowed between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians* ſhould be under a Regulation ſtated by an Act of the *General Aſſembly*, or as limitted by the Governour of the Province, with the Conſent and Advice of his Council. And *That*, if any Controverſie hereafter happen between any of the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, no Private Revenge was to be taken by the *Indians*, but proper Applications to be made unto His Majeſties Government, for the due Remedy thereof: *Submitting themſelves herewithal to be Governed by His Majeſty's Laws.*

And for the Manifeſtation of their *Sincerity* in the *Submiſſion* thus made, the *Hypocritical Wretches* delivered *Hoſtages* for their Fidelity; and then ſet their *Marks* and *Seals*, no leſs than thirteen *Sagamores* of them, (with *Names* of more than a *Perſian* length) unto this Inſtrument.

The firſt Riſe of this *Indian War*, had hitherto been almoſt as Dark as that of the River *Nilus*: 'Tis true, if any *Wild Engliſh* did raſhly begin to provoke and affront the *Indians*, yet the *Indians* had a fairer way to obtain Juſtice, than by Bloodſhed: However, upon the *New-Engliſh Revolution*, the State of the *War* be-

became wholly *New:* The Government then employed all poſſible ways to procure a good Underſtanding with the *Indians*, but all the *Engliſh* Offers, Kindneſſes, Courteſies were barbarouſly requited by them, with New Acts of the moſt perfidious Hoſtility. Notwithſtanding all this, there were ſtill ſome *Nice People*, that had their ſcruples about the *Juſtice* of the *War*; but upon this New Submiſſion of the *Indians*, if ever thoſe *Rattle-ſnakes* (the only *Rattle-ſnakes*, which, they ſay, were ever ſeen to the Northward of *Merimack-River*) ſhould ſtir again, the moſt ſcrupulous Perſons in the World muſt own, *That it muſt be the moſt unexceptionable piece of Juſtice in the World for to extinguiſh them.*

Thus did the God of Heaven bleſs the unwearied Applications of Sir *William Phips*, for the reſtoring of *Peace* unto *New-England*, when the Country was quite *out of Breath*, in its Endeavours for its own Preſervation, from the continual out-rages of an inacceſſible Enemy, and by the *Poverty coming in, ſo like an armed Man* from the unſucceſsfulneſs of their former *Armies*, that it could not imagine, how to take one ſtep further in it's Wars. The moſt Happy Reſpite of *Peace* beyond *Merimack-River* being thus procured, the Governour immediately ſet himſelf to uſe all poſſible Methods, that it might be *Peace, like a River*, nothing ſhort of *Everlaſting.*

He therefore prevailed with Two or Three Gentlemen to join with him, in ſending a Supply of *Neceſſaries for Life*, unto the *Indians*, until the General Aſſembly could come together to ſettle the *Indian-Trade* for the Advantage of the Publick, that the *Indians* might not by Neceſſity be driven again, to become a *French* Propriety; although by this Action, as the Gentlemen themſelves were great *Loſers* in their Eſtates, thus *He* Himſelf declared unto the Members of the General Aſſembly, that he would upon Oath, give an Account unto them of all his own Gains, and count himſelf a Gainer, if in lieu of all, they would give

give him *one Beaver-Hat.* The ſame Generoſity alſo cauſed him to take many a tedious Voyage, accompanied ſometimes with his *Fidus Achates* and very Dear Friend, Kinſman and Neighbour, Colonel *John Philips*, between *Boſton* and *Pemmaquid*; and this in the bitter Weeks of the *New-Engliſh*, which is almoſt a *Ruſſian* Winter.

He was a ſort of *Confeſſor* under ſuch Torments of *Cold*, as once made the *Martyrdom* of *Muria*, and others commemorated in Orations of the Ancients; and the *Snow* and *Ice* which *Pliny* calls, *The Puniſhment of Mountains*, he chearfully endured, without any other *Profit* unto himſelf, but only the *Pleaſure* of thereby eſtabliſhing and continuing unto the People the Liberty to *Sleep* quietly in their *warm Neſts* at home, while he was thus concerned for them abroad. *Non mihi ſed Populo*, the Motto of the Emperour *Hadrian*, was engraved on the Heart of Sir *William*: NOT FOR MY SELF, BUT FOR MY PEOPLE: Or that of *Maximin*, *Quo major, hoc Laborioſior*, the more Honourable, the more Laborious.

Indeed the *Reſtleſneſs* of his Travels to the *Southern* as well as the *Eaſtern* Parts of the Country, when the Publick Safety call'd for his Preſence, would have made one to think on the Tranſlation which the King of *Portugal*, on a very extraordinary occaſion, gave the Fourth Verſe in the Hundred and Twenty firſt *Pſalm*, *He will not ſlumber, nor will he ſuffer to ſleep, the Keeper of* Iſrael. Nor did he only try to *Cicurate* the *Indians* of the *Eaſt*, by other Prudent and Proper Treatments, but he alſo furniſhed himſelf with an *Indian* Preacher of the Goſpel, whom he carried unto the *Eaſtward*, with an Intention to teach them the Principles of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and unteach them the mixt *Paganry* and *Popery* which hitherto *Diabolic'd* them. To *unteach* them, I ſay; for they had been *Taught* by the *French* Prieſts *this* among other things, That the Mother of our Bleſſed Saviour was

a

French Lady, and that they were *Engliſhmen* by whom our Saviour was murdered; and that it was therefore a *meritorious* Thing to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Nation. The Name of the Preacher whom the Governour carried with him, was *Nahaukon*, one of the Natives; and becauſe the paſſing of ſuch Expreſſions from the Mouth of a Poor *Indian* may upon ſome Accounts be worthy of *Remembrance*, let it be *Remembred*, that when the Governour propounded unto him ſuch a *Miſſion* to the *Eaſtern Indians*, he replied, *I know that I ſhall probably Endanger my Life by going to Preach the Goſpel among the Frenchified* Indians, *but I know that it will be a Service unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and therefore I will venture to go.*

God grant that his *Behaviours* may be in all things, at all times, according to theſe his *Expreſſions!* While theſe things were doing, having Intelligence of a *French* Man of War, expected at St. *John's*, he Diſpatched away the *Non-ſuch-Frigat* thither to intercept him; nevertheleſs by the groſs *Negligence* and perhaps *Cowardiſe* of the Captain, who had lately come from *England*, with Orders to take the Command of her, inſtead of one, who had been by Sir *William* a while before put in, and one who had ſignalized himſelf by doing of notable Service for the King and Country in it, the *Frenchman* arrived, unladed, and went away untouch'd. The Governour was extreamly offended at this notorious *Deficiency*; it caſt him into a great Impatience, to ſee the *Nation* ſo wretchedly ſerved; and he would himſelf have gone to Saint *John's* with a Reſolution to *Spoil* that Harbour of *Spoilers*, if he had not been taken off, by being ſent for home to *Whitehall*, in the very midſt of his Undertakings.

But the Treacherous *Indians* being *poiſoned* with the *French Enchantments*, and furniſhed with brave *New-Coats*, and *New Arms*, and all new Incentives to *War*, by the *Man of War* newly come in, they preſently, and

and perfidiously, fell upon two *English* Towns, and Butchered and Captived many of the Inhabitants, and made a *New War*, which the *New-Englanders* know not, whether it will End, until either *Canada* become an *English Province*, or that State arrive, wherein they *shall beat Swords into Plough-shares and Spears into Pruning-hooks*. And no doubt, the taking off Sir *William Phips*, was no small Encouragement unto the *Indians* in this Relapse, into the Villanies and Massacres of a *New Invasion* upon the Country.

SECT. 18.

READER, 'Tis Time for us to view a little more to the *Life*, the *Picture* of the Person, the *Actions* of whose *Life*, we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, That for his *Exteriour*, he was One *Tall*, beyond the common set of Men, and *Thick* as well as *Tall*, and *Strong* as well as *Thick*: He was, in all Respects, exceedingly *Robust*, and able to conquer such Difficulties of *Diet* and of *Travel*, as would have kill'd most Men alive: Nor did the *Fat*, whereinto he grew very much, in his later Years, take away the Vigour of his Motions.

He was well-set, and he was therewithal, of a very *Comely*, though a very *Manly* Countenance: A Countenance where any true skill in *Physiognomy*, would have read the Characters of a *Generous Mind*. Wherefore passing to his *Interiour*, the very first Thing which there offered it self unto Observation, was a most incomparable *Generosity*.

And of this, besides the innumerable Instances which he gave in his usual Hatred of *Dirty*, or *Little* Tricks, there was one Instance for which I must freely say, *I never saw Three Men in this World that Equal'd him*; this was, His wonderfully *Forgiving Spirit*. In the vast Variety of *Business*, through which he

e *Raced* in his Time, he met with many, and mighty *injuries*, but, although I have heard all, that the moſt enemous *Malice* could ever *Hiſs* at his Memory, I ever did hear unto this Hour, that he did ever once eliberately *Revenge an Injury*.

Upon certain *Affronts*, he has made ſudden *Returns*, hat have ſhewed *Choler* enough, and he has by *Blow* s well as by *Word*, chaſtiſed *Incivilities*: He was, ndeed, ſufficiently impatient of being *put upon*, and hen *Baſe Men*, ſurprizing him at ſome *Diſadvanta-es* (for elſe few Men durſt have done it) have ſome-imes drawn upon him, he has, without the *Wicked Madneſs* of a *Formal Duel*, made them feel that he new how to *Correct Fools*. Nevertheleſs, he ever de-ined a *Deliberate Revenge* of a *Wrong* done unto im; though few Men upon *Earth*, have in their *Vi-ſſitudes*, been furniſhed with ſuch frequent *Opportuni-es* of *Revenge*, as *Heaven* brought into the Hands f this *Gentleman*.

Under great Provocations, he would commonly ſay, *'s no Matter, let them alone; ſometime, or other they'l e their Weakneſs and Raſhneſs, and have occaſion for me do them a Kindneſs: And they ſhall then ſee, I have uite forgotten all their Baſeneſs*. Accordingly, 'twas markable to ſee it, That few Men ever did *him* a *iſchief*, but thoſe Men afterwards had occaſion for m to do *Them* a *Kindneſs*; and he did the *Kind-ſs* with as forgetful a *Bravery*, as if the *Miſchief* d never been done at all. The Emperour *Theodo-s* himſelf could not be readier to *Forgive*; ſo wor-hily did he verifie that Obſervation.

Quo quiſque eſt Major, magis eſt Placabilis Ira,
Et Faciles Motus, Mens Generoſa capit.

In thoſe Places of *Power* whereto the Providence of od, by ſeveral *Degrees* raiſed him, it ſtill fell out that before his *Riſe* thereunto, he underwent ſuch

Things, as he counted very hard *Abuſes*, from thoſe very Perſons over whom, the Divine Providence afterwards gave him the *Aſcendant*.

By ſuch *Trials*, the Wiſdom of Heaven ſtill prepared him, as *David* before him, for *ſucceſſive Advancements*; and as he behaved himſelf with a marvellous *Long-ſuffering*, when he was *Tried*, by ſuch Mortifications, thus when he came to be *Advanced*, he convinced all Mankind, that he had perfectly Buried all the old Offences, in an Eternal *Amneſty*. I was my Self an *Ear-witneſs*, that one, who was an *Eye-witneſs* of his Behaviour under ſuch *Probations* of his Patience, did long before his Arrival to that Honour, ſay unto him, *Sir, Forgive thoſe that give you theſe Vexations, and know that the God of Heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the Governour of* New-England. And when he did indeed become the *Governour of* New-England, he ſhew'd that he ſtill continued a *Governour of himſelf*, in his Treating all that had formerly been in ill Terms with him, with as much *Favour* and *Freedom*, as if there had never happened the leaſt Exaſperations: Though any Governour, that Kens *Hobbianiſm*, can eaſily contrive Ways enough to wreak a *Spite*, where he owes it.

It was with ſome *Chriſtian Remark*, that he read the *Pagan-ſtory* of the Renowned *Fabius Maximus*, who being preferred unto the higheſt Office in the Common-Wealth, did through a Zeal for his Country, overcome the greateſt Contempts that any Perſon of Quality could have received. *Minutius* the Maſter of the Horſe, and the next Perſon in Dignity to himſelf, did firſt privately Traduce him, as one that was *no Souldier*, and leſs *Politician*; and he afterward did both by Speeches and Letters, prejudice not only the *Army*, but alſo the *Senate* againſt him, ſo that *Minutius* was now by an unpreſidented Commiſſion brought into an *Equality* with *Fabius*.

A

All this while the great *Fabius* did not throw up his Cares for the Common-Wealth, but with a wondrous *Equality of Mind*, endured equally the Malice of the *Judges*, and the Fury of the *Commons*; and when *Minutius*, a while after, was with all his Forces, upon the Point of periſhing by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, this very *Fabius*, not liſtening to the Dictates of *Revenge*, came in, and helped him, and ſaved him; and ſo by a rare Virtue, he made his worſt *Adverſaries*, the Captives of his *Generoſity*.

One of the Ancients, upon ſuch an Hiſtory, cried out, *If Heathens can do thus much for the Glory of their Name, what ſhall not Chriſtians do for the Glory of Heaven!* And Sir *William Phips* did ſo *much more* than *thus much*, that beſides his meriting the *Glory* of ſuch a *Name*, as *PHIPPIUS MAXIMUS*, he therein had upon him the Symptoms of a Title to the *Glory of Heaven*, in the *Seal* of his own *Pardon* from God. Nor was this *Generoſity* in HIS EXCELLENCY, the Governour of *New-England*, unaccompanied with many other *Excellencies*; whereof the *Piety* of his Carriage towards *God*, is worthy to be firſt mentioned.

It is true, He was very Zealous for all Men to enjoy ſuch a *Liberty of Conſcience*, as he judged a *Native Right* of *Mankind*: And he was extreamly Troubled, at the *over-boiling Zeal* of ſome good Men, who formerly took that wrong Way of reclaiming *Hereticks*, by *Perſecution*. For this *Generoſity* it may be, ſome would have compared him unto *Gallio*, the Governour of *Achaia*, whom our Preachers, perhaps with Miſtake enough, think to be condemned in the Scripture, for his not appearing to be a *Judge*, in Matters which indeed fell not under his Cognizance.

And I ſhall be content that he be compared unto that Gentleman; for that *Gallio* was the Brother of *Seneca*, who gives this Character of him, *That there was no Man, who did not love him too little, if he could Love him any more*; and, *That there was no Mor-*

tal ſo Dear to any, as he was to all; and, *That he hated all Vices, but none more than Flattery.*

But while the *Generoſity* of Sir *William*, cauſed him to deſire a *Liberty of Conſcience*, his *Piety* would not allow a *Liberty of Prophaneneſs*, either to himſelf or others. He did not affect any mighty *ſhow* of Devotion, and when he ſaw any that were *evidently careful* to make a *ſhow*, and eſpecially, if at the ſame Time they were notoriouſly Defective, in the Duties of *Common Juſtice* or *Goodneſs*, or the Duties of the *Relations*, wherein God had *ſtationed* them, he had an extream Averſion for them.

Nevertheleſs, he did ſhow a Conſcientious Deſire to obſerve the Laws of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his *Converſation*; and he conſcientiouſly attended upon the Exerciſes of *Devotion* in the Seaſons thereof, on *Lectures*, as well as on *Lords-Days*, and in the *Daily-Sacrifice*, the Morning and Evening Service of his own Family; yea, and at the *Private Meetings* of the Devout People kept every *Fortnight* in the Neighbourhood.

Beſides all this, when he had *great Works* before him, he would Invite good Men to come and *Faſt* and *Pray* with him at his Houſe for the Succeſs thereof; and when he had ſucceeded in what he had undertaken, he would prevail with them to come and keep a Day of Solemn *Thanksgiving* with him. His *Love* to Almighty *God*, was indeed, manifeſted by nothing more, than his *Love* to thoſe that had the *Image* of God, upon them; He Heartily, and with a Real *Honour* for them, *Loved* all *Godly Men*; and in ſo doing, he did not confine *Godlineſs* to this or that Party, but wherever he ſaw the *Fear of God*, in one of a *Congregational*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Antipædobaptiſt*, or *Epiſcopalian* Perſwaſion, he did, without any Difference, expreſs towards them a Reverent Affection.

But

But he made no Men more welcome, than thoſe *good Men*, whoſe *Office* 'tis to promote and preſerve *Goodneſs* in all other Men; even the *Miniſters* of the Goſpel: Eſpecially when they were ſuch as faithfully Diſcharged their Office: And from theſe at any Time, the leaſt Admonition or Intimation of any good Thing to be done by him, he entertained with a moſt obliging Alacrity. His *Religion* in Truth, was one Principle that added *Virtue* unto that vaſt *Courage*, which was always in him to a Degree *Heroical*. Thoſe Terrible Nations, which made their Deſcents from the *Northern* on the *Southern* Parts of *Europe*, in thoſe Elder Ages, when ſo to *ſwarm out* was more frequent with them, were inſpired with a *valiant Contempt of Life*, by the Opinion, wherein their famous *Odin* inſtructed them. *That their Death was but an Entrance into another Life, wherein they who Died in Warlike Actions, were bravely feaſted with the God of War for ever:* 'Tis inexpreſſible, How much the *Courage* of thoſe fierce Mortals was fortified by that Opinion.

But when Sir *William Phips* was asked by ſome that obſerved his *Valiant Contempt of Death*, What it was that made him ſo little afraid of *Dying*, he gave a better grounded Account of it, than thoſe *Pagans* could; his Anſwer was, *I do humbly believe, That the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhed his Precious Blood for me, by His Death procuring my Peace with God: and what ſhould I now be afraid of Dying for?*

But this Leads me to mention the *Humble* and *Modeſt* Carriage in him, towards other *Men*, which accompanied this his *Piety*. There were certain *Pomps* belonging unto the ſeveral *Places of Honour*, through which he paſſed; *Pomps*, that are very taking to Men of *little Souls:* But although he roſe from ſo *little*, yet he diſcovered a marvellous *Contempt* of thoſe Aiery Things, and as far, as he handſomely could, he declined being ceremonioufly, or any otherwiſe than

with

with a *Dutch Modeſty* waited upon. And it might more truly be ſaid of him, than it was of *Ariſtides*, *He was never ſeen the Prouder for any Honour, that was done him from his Country-men.*

Hence, albeit I have read that complaint, made by a worthy Man, *I have often obſerved, and this not without ſome Bluſhing, that even good People have had a kind of ſhame upon them, to acknowledge their low beginning, and uſed all Arts to hide it.* I could never *obſerve* the leaſt of that Fault in this worthy Man; but he would ſpeak of his own *low beginning* with as much Freedom and Frequency, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten.

It was counted an Humility in King *Agathocles*, the Son of a *Potter*, to be ſerved therefore in *Earthen Veſſels*, as *Plutarch* hath informed us: It was counted an Humility in Arch-Biſhop *Willigis*, the Son of a *Wheel-wright*, therefore to have *Wheels* hung about his Bed-Chamber, with this Inſcription, *Recole undè Veneris*, i. e. *Remember thy Original.* But ſuch was the *Humility* and *Lowlineſs* of this *Riſing Man!* Not only did he after his return to his Country in his Greatneſs, one Day, make a ſplendid Feaſt for the *Ship Carpenters* of *Boſton*, among whom he was willing at his Table, to Commemorate, the Mercy of God unto him, who had once been a *Ship Carpenter* himſelf, but he would on all occaſions *permit*, yea, *Study* to have his *Meanneſſes* remembred.

Hence upon frequent occaſions of Uneaſineſs in his Government, he would chuſe thus to expreſs himſelf, *Gentlemen, were it not that I am to do Service for the Publick, I ſhould be much eaſier in returning unto my Broad Ax again!* And hence, according to the *Affable* Courteſie, which he ordinarily uſed unto all ſorts of Perſons (quite contrary to the *Aſperity*, which the old Proverb, expects in the *Raiſed*) he would particularly, when Sailing in ſight of *Kennebeck*, with Armies under his Command, call the Young

Young *Souldiers* and *Sailers* upon Deck, and ſpeak to them after this Faſhion; *Young Men, It was upon that Hill, that I kept Sheep, a few Years ago; and ſince you ſee that Almighty God has brought me to ſomething, do you Learn to fear God, and be Honeſt, and Mind your Buſineſs, and follow no bad Courſes, and you don't know what you may come to!* A Temper not altogether unlike, what the Advanced *Shepherd* had, when he wrote the *Twenty Third* Pſalm; or when he Imprinted on the *Coin* of his Kingdom, the Remembrance of his old Condition: For *Chriſtianus Gerſon*, a Chriſtianized *Jew*, has informed us, That on the one ſide of *David's* Coin, were to be ſeen his old *Pouch* and *Crook*, the Inſtruments of *Shepherdy*; on the other ſide, were Enſtamped the Towers of *Zion*.

In fine, our Sir *William* was a Perſon of ſo ſweet a Temper, that they who were moſt intimately acquainted with him, would commonly pronounce him, *The beſt Conditioned Gentleman in the World!* And by the continual Diſcoveries and Expreſſions of ſuch a *Temper*, he ſo gained the Hearts of them who waited upon him in any of his Expeditions, that they would commonly profeſs themſelves willing ſtill, *to have gone with him to the End of the World.*

But if all other People found him ſo kind a *Neighbour*, we may eaſily inferr what an Huſband he was unto his *Lady*. Leaving unmentioned that *Virtue* of his *Chaſtity*, which the Prodigious Depravation, brought by the Late Reigns upon the Manners of the Nation, has made worthy to be mentioned as a *Virtue* ſomewhat *Extraordinary*; I ſhall rather paſs on to ſay, That the *Love*, even to *Fondneſs*, with which he always treated her, was a Matter not only of *Obſervation*, but even of ſuch *Admiration*, that every one ſaid, *The Age afforded not a kinder Huſband!* This Kindneſs appeared not only in his making it no leſs his *Delight* than *Study*, to render his whole

whole Converſation agreeable to her, but alſo, and perhaps chiefly, in the *Satisfaction* which it gave him, to have his Intereſts very much at her Command. Before he firſt went abroad, upon *Wrack Deſigns*, he, to make his long Abſence, eaſie unto her, made *her* his Promiſe, that what *Eſtate* the God of Heaven ſhould then beſtow upon him, ſhould be entirely at her *Diſpoſal*, in Caſe that ſhe ſurvived him.

And when Almighty God accordingly beſtow'd upon him a Fair *Eſtate*, he not only rejoiced in ſeeing ſo many Acts of *Charity* done every Day by *Her* bountiful Hand, but he alſo (not having any Children of his own) Adopted a Nephew of *Her's* to be his *Heir:* And reckoning that a *Verbal Intimation* unto her of what Pious and Publick Uſes, he would have any Part of his *Eſtate*, after his *Death* put unto, as well as what *Supports* he would have afforded unto his own Relations, would be as much attended by *Her*, as if he had otherwiſe taken the moſt effectual Care imaginable, he contented himſelf with Bequeathing all he had entirely to *Her*, in his *Laſt Will and Teſtament*; He knew very well, that *Her Will*, in Point of a *Liberal* Diſpoſition to *Honour the Lord with the Subſtance*, which the *Lord* had in ſo ſtrange a manner enriched them withal, would not fail of being equal with *his own*.

But we muſt now return to our Story.

SECT. 19.

When Perſons do by Studies full of *Curioſity*, ſeek to inform themſelves of things, about which the God of Heaven hath forbidden our *curious enquiries*, there is a marvellous *Impreſſion*, which the *Demons* do often make on the Minds of thoſe their Votaries, about the *Future* or *Secret* Matters unlawfully enquired after, and at laſt there

there is alſo an horrible *Poſſeſſion*, which thoſe *Fatidic Dæmons* do take of them. The *Snares* of Hell, hereby laid for miſerable Mortals have been ſuch, that when I read the Laws, which *Agellius* affirms to have been made, even in *Pagan Rome*, againſt the *Vaticinatores*, I wonder that no *Engliſh* Nobleman, or Gentleman ſignalizes his regard unto *Chriſtianity*, by doing what even a *Roman Tully* would have done, in promoting *An Act of Parliament*, againſt that *Paganiſh* Practice of *Judicial Aſtrology*, whereof, if ſuch Men as *Auſtin* were now Living, they would Aſſert, *The Devil firſt found it, and they that profeſs it, are Enemies of Truth and of God.*

In the mean Time, I cannot but relate a wonderful Experience of Sir *William Phips*, by the Relation whereof ſomething of an *Antidote* may be given againſt a *Poiſon*, which the Diabolical *Figure-Flingers*, and *Fortune-Tellers* that ſwarm all the World over, may inſinuate into the Minds of Men. Long before Mr. *Phips* came to be Sir *William*, while he ſojourned in *London*, there came into his Lodging an Old *Aſtrologer*, living in the Neighbourhood, who making ſome *Obſervation* of him, though he had ſmall or no *Converſation* with him, did (howbeit by him wholly undeſired) one Day ſend him a Paper, wherein he had, with Pretences of a Rule in *Aſtrology* for each Article, diſtinctly noted the moſt material Paſſages that were to befall this our *Phips*, in the remaining Part of his Life; it was particularly Aſſerted and Inſerted, That he ſhould be engaged in a Deſign, wherein by Reaſon of Enemies at *Court*, he ſhould meet with much Delay; That nevertheleſs in the *Thirty Seventh* Year of his Life, he ſhould find a *mighty Treaſure*; That in the *Forty Firſt* Year of his Life, his *King* ſhould employ him, in as great a *Truſt beyond Sea*, as a Subject could eaſily have: That ſoon after this, he ſhould undergo an hard *Storm* from the Endeavours of his Adverſaries to

Reproach him, and *Ruine* him; That his Adverſaries though they ſhould go very *near* gaining the Point, ſhould yet *miſs* of doing ſo; That he ſhould hit upon a vaſtly *Richer Matter* than any that he had hitherto met withal; That he ſhould continue *Thirteen Years* in his *Publick Station*, full of Action, and full of Hurry; And the reſt of his Days he ſhould ſpend in the Satisfaction of a *Peaceable Retirement*.

Mr. *Phips* received this undeſired Paper with Trouble and with Contempt; and threw it by among certain looſe Papers, in the Bottom of a Trunk, where his Lady ſome Years after accidentally Lit upon it. His Lady with Admiration, ſaw ſtep after ſtep, very much of it accompliſhed; but when ſhe heard from *England*, that Sir *William* was coming over with a Commiſſion to be Governour of *New-England*, in that very Year of his Life, which the Paper ſpecified, ſhe was afraid of letting it ly any longer in the Houſe, but caſt it into the *Fire*.

Now the Thing which I muſt invite my Reader to Remark is this; That albeit Almighty God may permit the *Devils* to *predict*, and perhaps to *perform* very many particular things to Men, that ſhall by ſuch a *preſumptuous and unwarrantable Juggle*, as *Aſtrology* (ſo Dr. *Hall* well calls it!) or any other *Divination*, conſult them, yet the *Devils* which *fore-tel* many *True* Things, do commonly *fore-tel* ſome that are *Falſe*, and it may be propoſe by the Things that are *True* to betray Men into ſome fatal Miſbelief and Miſcarriage about thoſe that are *Falſe*.

Very ſingular therefore was the Wiſdom of Sir *William Phips*, that, as he ever Treated theſe *Prophecies* about him with a moſt *Pious neglect*, ſo, when he had ſeen all but the *two Laſt* of them very punctually fulfilled, yea and ſeen the beginning of a Fulfilment unto the *Laſt but one* alſo, yet when I pleaſantly mentioned them unto him, on purpoſe to *Try* whether there were any occaſion for me humbly to

to give him the ſerious *Advice*, neceſſary in ſuch a Caſe, to Anticipate the *Devices of Satan*, he prevented my Advice, by ſaying to me. *Sir, I do believe there might be a curſed Snare of Satan in thoſe Propheſies: I Believe Satan might have leave to foretel many Things, all of which might come to paſs in the beginning, to lay me aſleep about ſuch things as are to follow, eſpecially about the main chance of all; I do not know, but I am to Dye this Year: For my Part, by the Help of the Grace of God; I ſhall endeavour to live as if I were this Year to Dye.* And let the Reader now attend the Event!

SECT. 20.

'TIS a Similitude which I have Learned from no leſs a Perſon, than the great *Baſil*. That *as* the *Eye* ſees not thoſe Objects which are applied cloſe unto it, and even ly upon it; but when the Objects are to ſome diſtance removed, it clearly diſcerns them: *So*, we have little ſenſe of the Good, which we have in our Enjoyments; until God by the removal thereof, teach us better to prize what we once enjoyed. It is true, the Generality of ſober and thinking People among the *New-Englanders*, did as highly value the *Government* of Sir *William Phips*, whilſt he lived, as they do his *Memory* ſince his Death; nevertheleſs it muſt be confeſſed, that the Bleſſing which the Country had in his indefatigable Zeal, to ſerve the Publick in all it's Intereſts, was not ſo valued as it ſhould have been.

It was mention'd long ſince, as a notorious Fault in *Old Egypt*, That it was *Loquax & Ingenioſa in Contumeliam Præfectorum Provincia; ſi quis fortè vitaverit Culpam, Contumeliam non effugit:* And *New-England* has been at the beſt, always too faulty, in that

very Character, *A Province very Talkative, and Ingenious for the vilifying of it's Publick Servants.*

But Sir *William Phips* who might in a *Calm* of the Common-Wealth have adminiſtred all things, with as General an Acceptance, as any that have gone before him, had the Diſadvantage of being ſet at *Helm* in a Time as full of *Storm* as ever that *Province* had ſeen; and the People having their Spirits put into a *Tumult* by the diſcompoſing and diſtempering Variety of Diſaſters, which had long been rendring the Time Calamitous, it was natural for them, as 'tis for all Men *then*, to be *complaining*; and you may be ſure, the *Rulers* muſt in ſuch Caſes, be always *complained* of, and the chief Complaints muſt be heaped upon thoſe that are *Commanders in Chief*. Nor has a certain Proverb in *Aſia* been improper in *America*, *He deſerves no Man's good Word, of whom every Man ſhall ſpeak well.*

Sir *William* was very hardly *Handled* (or *Tongued* at leaſt) in the Liberty which People took to make moſt unbecoming and Injurious Reflections upon his Conduct, and Clamour againſt him even for thoſe very Actions, which were not only *Neceſſary* to be done, but highly *Beneficial* unto themſelves; And though he would ordinarily ſmile at their *Frowardneſs*, calling it, *His Country Pay*, yet he ſometimes reſented it with ſome uneaſineſs; he ſeem'd unto himſelf ſometimes almoſt as bad as Rolled about in *Regulus*'s Barrel; and had occaſion to think on the *Italian* Proverb, *To wait for one who does not come; to lye a Bed not able to ſleep; and to find it impoſſible to pleaſe thoſe whom we ſerve, are three Griefs enough to kill a Man.*

But as *Forward* as the People were, under the *Epedemical Vexations* of the Age, yet there were very few that would not acknowledge unto the very Laſt, *It will be hardly poſſible for us to ſee another Governour, that ſhall more entirely Love and ſerve the Coun-*

Country: Yea, had the Country had the Choice of their own *Governour*, 'tis judged their *Votes*, more than forty to one, would have ſtill fallen upon him to have been the Man: And the *General Aſſembly* therefore on all occaſions renewed their Petitions unto the King for his Continuance.

Nevertheleſs, there was a little Party of Men, who thought they muſt not *ſleep till they had cauſed him to fall:* And they ſo vigorouſly proſecuted certain Articles before the Council-board at *White-hal* againſt him, that they imagined they had gained an *Order* of His Majeſty in Council, to ſuſpend him immediately from his Government, and appoint a *Committee* of Perſons nominated by his Enemies, to hear all *Depoſitions* againſt him; and ſo a Report of the whole to be made unto the King and Council.

But His Majeſty was too well informed of Sir *William*'s Integrity, to permit ſuch a ſort of Procedure; and therefore He ſignified unto His moſt Honourable Council, that nothing ſhould be done againſt Sir *William*, until he had Opportunity to clear himſelf; and thereupon He ſent His Royal Commands unto Sir *William* to come over. To give any retorting Accounts of the Principal Perſons, who thus adverſaried him, would be a Thing ſo contrary to the Spirit of Sir *William Phips* himſelf, who, at his leaving of *New-England*, bravely declared, that he *freely forgave them all*, and if he had returned thither again, would never have taken the leaſt revenge upon them, that *This* alone would oblige me, if I had no other Obligations of Chriſtianity upon me, to forbear it; and it may be for ſome of them, it would be *to throw Water upon a drowned Mouſe.*

Nor need I to produce any more about the *Articles* which theſe Men exhibited againſt him, than *This*; that it was by moſt Men believed, that if he would have connived at ſome *Arbitrary Oppreſſions* too much uſed by ſome kind of Officers, on the Kings

Subjects, *Few* perhaps, or *None* of thoſe Articles, had ever been formed; and that he apprehended himſelf to be provided with a full *Defence* againſt them all.

Nor did His Excellency ſeem loath to have had his Caſe Tried under the Brazen Tree of *Gariac*, if there had been ſuch an one, as that mentioned by the Fabulous *Murtadi*, in his Prodigies of *Ægypt*, a Tree which had Iron Branches with ſharp *Hooks* at the End of them, that when any falſe Accuſer approached, as the Fable ſays, immediately flew at him, and ſtuck in him, until he had ceaſed Injuring his Adverſary.

Wherefore in Obedience unto the Kings Commands, he took his leave of *Boſton* on the ſeventeenth of *November*, 1694. attended with all proper Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Honour from the *Body* of the People, which he had been the *Head* unto; and with *Addreſſes* unto their Majeſties, and the Chief Miniſters of State from the General Aſſembly, humbly imploring, that they might not be deprived of the Happineſs which they had in ſuch an *Head*.

Arriving at *White-Hall*, he found in a few Days, that notwithſtanding all the Impotent Rage of his Adverſaries particularly vented and Printed in a *Villanous Libel*, as well as almoſt in as many other ways, as there are Mouths, at which *Eyal* ſometimes has vomited out its Infernal Fires, he had all *Humane Aſſurance* of his returning in a very few Weeks again, the Governour of *New-England*.

Wherefore, there were eſpecially *two Deſigns*, full of Service to the whole *Engliſh* Nation, as well as his own particular Country of *New-England*, which he applied his *Thoughts* unto. *Firſt*, He had a new *Scene* of Action opened unto him, in an opportunity to ſupply the Crown with all *Naval Stores* at moſt *eaſie Rates*, from thoſe *Eaſtern* Parts of the *Maſſachuſet* Province, which through the Conqueſt that *He* had

had made thereof, came to be Inſerted in the *Maſſachuſet*-Charter. As no Man was more *capable* than *He*, to improve this opportunity unto a vaſt Advantage, ſo his *Inclination* to it, was according to his *Capacity*.

And he longed with ſome Impatience, to ſee the King furniſhed from his *own Dominions*, with ſuch floating and ſtately Caſtles, thoſe *Wooden-Walls* of Great *Britain*, for much of which He has hitherto Traded with *Forreign Kingdoms*. *Next*, if I may ſay *next* unto this, he had an Eye upon *Canada*; all attempts for the reducing whereof had hitherto proved Abortive.

It was but a few Months ago, that a conſiderable Fleet, under Sir *Francis Wheeler*, which had been ſent into the *Weſt-Indies*, to ſubdue *Martineco*, was ordered then to call at *New-England*, that being recruited there, they might make a further Deſcent upon *Canada*; but Heaven frowned upon that Expedition, eſpecially by a terrible Sickneſs, the moſt like the *Plague* of any thing that has been ever ſeen in *America*, whereof there Died, e're they could reach to *Boſton*, as I was told by Sir *Francis* himſelf, no leſs than *Thirteen* Hundred Sailers out of *Twenty One*, and no leſs than *Eighteen* Hundred Souldiers out of *Twenty four*.

It was now therefore his deſire to have ſatisfied the King, that his whole Intereſt in *America* lay at Stake, while *Canada* was in *French* Hands: And therewithal to have laid before ſeveral Noblemen, and Gentlemen, how beneficial an Undertaking it would have been for them to have purſued the *Canadien*-Buſineſs, for which the *New-Englanders* were now grown too Feeble; their Country being too far now, as *Bede* ſays *England* once was, *Omni Milite & floridæ Juventutis Alacritate ſpoliata*.

Beſides theſe *two* Deſigns in the *Thoughts* of Sir *William*, there was a *Third*, which he had Hopes that

the King would have given him leave to have purſued, after he had continued ſo long in his Government, as to have obtained the more *General welfare* which he deſigned in the former Inſtances. I do not mean the making of *New-England* the Seat of a *Spaniſh Trade*, though ſo vaſtly profitable a Thing was likely to have been brought about, by his being one of an Honourable Company engaged in ſuch a Project.

But the *Spaniſh Wreck*, where Sir *William* had made his firſt *good Voyage*, was not the *only*, nor the *Richeſt* Wreck, that he knew to be lying under the Water. He knew particularly that when the Ship, which had Governour *Boadilla* Aboard, was caſt away, there was, as *Peter Martyr* ſays, an entire Table of *Gold* of *Three Thouſand, Three Hundred and ten Pound Weight.*

The Duke of *Albemarl*'s Patent for all ſuch *Wrecks* now expiring, Sir *William* thought on the *Motto*, which is upon the Gold *Medal*, beſtowed by the late King, with his *Knighthood* upon him, *Semper Tibi pendeat Hamus:* And ſuppoſing himſelf to have gained ſufficient Information of the right Way to ſuch a *Wreck*, it was his purpoſe upon his Diſmiſſion from his Government, once more to have gone unto his old *Fiſhing-Trade*, upon a mighty Shelf of Rocks and Bank of Sands, that ly where he had informed himſelf.

But as the Prophet *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, in their *Pſalm* upon the Grants made unto their People by the Emperours of *Perſia*, have that Reflection, *Man's Breath goeth forth, he returns to his Earth; in that very Day his Thoughts periſh.* My Reader muſt now ſee what came of all theſe conſiderable *Thoughts*. About the middle of *February* 1694. Sir *William* found himſelf indiſpoſed with a Cold, which obliged him to keep his Chamber; but under this Indiſpoſition, he received the Honour of a Viſit from a very

ry Eminent Perſon at *White-Hall*, who upon ſufficient Aſſurance, bad him, *Get well as faſt as he could, for in one Months Time he ſhould be again diſpatched away to his Government of* New-England.

Nevertheleſs his Diſtemper proved a ſort of *Malignant Feaver*, whereof many, about this Time dyed in the City; and it ſuddenly put an End at once unto his *Days* and *Thoughts*, on the Eighteenth of *February*; to the extream ſurprize of his Friends, who Honourably Interr'd him in the Church of St. *Mary Woolnoth*, and with him, how much of *New-England*'s Happineſs!

SECT. 21.

ALTHOUGH he has now *no more a Portion for ever in any Thing that is done under the Sun*, yet Juſtice requires that *his Memory be not forgotten*. I have not all this while ſaid, *He was Faultleſs*, nor am I unwilling to uſe for him the Words which Mr. *Calamy* had in his Funeral Sermon, for the Excellent Earl of *Warwick*, *It muſt be confeſſed, leaſt I ſhould prove a Flaterer, He had his Infirmities, which I truſt Jeſus Chriſt hath covered with the Robe of his Righteouſneſs: My Prayer to God is that all his Infirmities may be Buried in the Grave of Oblivion, and that all his Virtues and Graces may ſupervive*, although perhaps they were no *Infirmities* in that Noble Perſon, which Mr. *Calamy* counted ſo.

Nevertheleſs I muſt alſo ſay, That if the Anguiſh of his Publick Fatigues threw Sir *William* into any *Faults* of *Paſſion*, they were but *Faults* of *Paſſion*, ſoon Recalled: And *Spots* being ſooneſt ſeen in *Ermin*, there was uſually the *moſt* made of them *that* could be, by thoſe that were leaſt *Free* themſelves.

After

After all, I do not know that I have been, by any perſonal Obligations or Circumſtances, charmed into any *Partiality* for the *Memory* of this Worthy Man; but I do here from a real Satisfaction of Conſcience concerning him, declare to all the World, that I reckon him, to have been really a very *Worthy Man*; that few Men in the World riſing from ſo mean an *Original*, as he, would have acquitted themſelves with a thouſandth Part of his *Capacity* or *Integrity*; that he left unto the World a notable Example of a Diſpoſition to *Do Good*, and encountred and overcame almoſt invincible *Temptations* in doing it.

And I do moſt ſolemnly Profeſs, that I have moſt conſcientiouſly endeavoured the utmoſt Sincerity and Veracity of a *Chriſtian* as well as an *Hiſtorian* in the *Hiſtory*, which I have now given of him. I have not written of Sir *William Phips*, as they ſay *Xenophon* did of *Cyrus*, *Non ad Hiſtoriæ Fidem, ſed ad Effigiem veri imperii*; what *ſhould* have been, rather than what really *was*. If the *Envy* of his *few Enemies*, be not now *Quiet*; I muſt freely ſay it, That for many Weeks before he died, there was not one Man among his *perſonal Enemies*, whom *he* would not readily and chearfully have done all the kind Offices of a *Friend* unto: Wherefore though the Gentleman in *England*, that once publiſhed a Vindication of Sir *William Phips* againſt ſome of his Enemies, choſe to put the Name of *Publicans* upon them, they muſt in *this* be counted worſe than the *Publicans* of whom our Saviour ſays, *They Love thoſe that Love them.*

And I will ſay this further; That when certain Perſons had found the *Skull* of a *Dead Man*, as a *Greek* Writer of Epigrams has told us, they all fell a Weeping, but only one of the Company, who Laughed and Flouted, and through an unheard of Cruelty, threw *Stones* at it, which *Stones* wonderfully rebounded back upon the Face of him that threw them,

them, and miſerably wounded him: Thus, if any ſhall be ſo *unchriſtian*, yea, ſo *Inhumane* as libelloufly to throw Stones at ſo deſerved a Reputation, as this Gentleman has dyed withal, they ſhall ſee a *Juſt Rebound* of all their Calumnies.

But the Name of Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS* will be heard Honourably mentioned in the *Trumpets* of *Immortal Fame*, when the Names of many, that *Antipathied* him, will either be Buried in Eternal Oblivion, without any *Sacer Vates* to preſerve them, or be remembred, but like that of *Pilate* in the Goſpel, or *Judas* in the Creed, with Eternal Infamy.

The old *Perſians* indeed, according to the Report of *Agathias*, expoſed their *Dead* Friends to be Torn in pieces by *Wild Beaſts*, believing that if they lay long *unworried*, they had been *unworthy* Perſons; but, all attempts of ſurviving Malice, to demonſtrate in that way, the *worth* of this *Dead* Gentleman, give me leave to *Rate off* with Indignation.

And I muſt with a like Freedom ſay, That great was the Fault of *New-England*, no more to valüe a Perſon, whoſe *Opportunities* to ſerve all their Intereſts, though very Eminent, yet were not ſo Eminent as his *Inclinations*. If this whole Continent carry in its very Name of *AMERICA*, an unaccountable *Ingratitude* unto that Brave Man, who firſt led any numbers of *Europeans* thither, it muſt not be wondred at, if now and then, a particular Country in that Continent afford ſome Inſtances of *Ingratitude*: But I muſt believe, that the Ingratitude of many both to God and Man, for ſuch *Benefits*, as that Country of *New-England* enjoy'd from a Governour of their own, by whom they enjoyed *great quietneſs, with very worthy Deeds done unto that Nation by His Providence*, was that which haſtned the Removal of ſuch a *Benefactor* from them.

How-

However, as the *Cyprians* buried their Friends in *Honey*, to whom they gave *Gall* when they were Born; thus whatever *Gall* might be given to this Gentleman while he lived, I hope none will be ſo baſe, as to put any thing but *Honey* into their Language of him now after his Deceaſe. And indeed, ſince 'tis a frequent thing among Men, to wiſh for the Preſence of our *Friends*, when they are *Dead* and *gone*, whom, while they were preſent with us, we undervalued; there is no way for us to fetch back our Sir *William Phips*, and make him yet Living with us, but by ſetting up a *Statue* for him, as 'tis done in theſe Pages, that may out-laſt an ordinary *Monument*.

Such was the original Deſign of erecting *Statues*, and if in *Venice*, there were at once, no leſs than an Hundred and ſixty two Marble, and Twenty three Brazen *Statues*, erected by the Order, and at the Expence, of the Publick, in Honour of ſo many Valiant Souldiers, who had merited well of that Common-Wealth, I am ſure *New-England* has had thoſe, whoſe Merits call for as good an acknowledgment, and, whatever they did *before*, it will be well, if *after* Sir *William Phips*, they find many as meritorious as he to be ſo acknowledged.

Now I cannot my ſelf provide a better *Statue* for this Memorable Perſon, then the *Words* uttered on the occation of his Death in a very great Aſſembly, by a Perſon of ſo diffus'd and Embalm'd a Reputation in the Church of God, that ſuch a Character from *him*, were enough to Immortalize the Reputation of the Perſon upon whom he ſhould beſtow it.

The *Grecians* employ'd ſtill the moſt Honourable and Conſiderable Perſons they had among them, to make a *Funeral Oration*, in Commendation of Souldiers that had loſt their Lives, in the Service of the Publick; And when Sir *William Phips*, the Captain Gene-

General of *New-England*, who had often ventured his Life to ſerve the Publick, did expire, that Reverend Perſon, who was the Preſident of the only Univerſity then in the *Engliſh America*, Preached a Sermon on that Paſſage of the Sacred Writ, *Iſa.* 57. 1. *Merciful Men are taken away, none conſidering that the Righteous are taken away from the Evil to come*; and in it gave Sir *William Phips* the following Teſtimony.

'This *Province* is Beheaded, and lyes a Bleeding. 'A GOVERNOUR is *taken away*, who was a '*Merciful Man*; ſome think, *Too Merciful*: And if 'ſo, 'tis beſt Erring on *that* Hand; and a *Righteous* '*Man*; who, when he had great Opportunities of 'gaining by *Injuſtice*, did refuſe to do ſo.

'He was a known Friend unto the beſt Intereſts, 'and unto the *Churches* of God: Not *aſhamed* of 'owning them: No, how often have I heard him 'expreſſing his Deſires to be an Inſtrument of '*Good* unto them! He was a zealous *Lover* of his '*Country*, if any Man in the World were ſo: He 'expoſed *himſelf* to ſerve it; He ventured his *Life* 'to ſave it: In *that*, a true *Nehemiah*, a Gover-'nour, that *ſought the welfare of his People.*

'He was one, who did not *ſeek* to have the Go-'vernment caſt upon him: No, but inſtead there-'of, to my Knowledge, he did ſeveral Times Pe-'tition the King, that this People might always 'enjoy the *great Priviledge of chooſing their own Go-'vernour*; and I have heard him expreſs his De-'ſires, that it might be ſo, to ſeveral of the Chief 'Miniſters of State in the Court of *England.*

'He is now Dead, and not capable of being *Flat-'tered*: But this I muſt teſtifie concerning him, 'That though by the Providence of God, I have 'been with him, at Home and Abroad, near at Home, 'and afar off, by Land, and by Sea, *I never ſaw him 'do any Evil Action, or heard him ſpeak any thing un-'becoming a Chriſtian.*

'The

'The Circumſtances of his Death, ſeem to intimate the *Anger* of God: In that he was *in the Midſt of his Days* removed; and *I* know (though *Few* did) that he had *great Purpoſes* in his Heart, which probably would have taken Effect, if he had lived a few Months longer, to the great Advantage of this Province; but now he is gone, there is not a Man Living in the World capacitated for thoſe Undertakings; *New-England* knows not yet what they have loſt!

The Recitation of a Teſtimony ſo *great*, whether for the *Author*, or the *Matter* of it, has now made a *Statue* for the Governour of *New-England*, which

Nec poterit Ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.

And there now remains nothing more for *me* to do about it, but only to recite herewithal, a well-known Story related by *Suidas*, That an *Envious* Man, once going to pull down a *Statue*, which had been raiſed unto the Memory of one whom he maligned, he only got this by it, that the *Statue* falling down, knock'd out his Brains.

But *Poetry* as well as *Hiſtory* muſt pay it's dues unto him. If *Cicero*'s Poem intituled *Quadrigæ*, wherein he did with a *Poetical Chariot* extol the Exploits of *Cæſar* in *Britain* to the very Skies, were now Extant in the World, I would have Borrowed ſome *Flights* of *That* at leaſt, for the Subject now to be Adorned.

But inſtead thereof, let the Reader accept the enſuing *Elegy*.

UPON

UPON THE

DEATH

OF

Sir *William PHIPS*, Knt.

Late Captain General and Governour in Chief, of the Province of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay New-England*, who Expired in *London*, *Feb.* 18. $169\frac{4}{5}$.

And to Mortality *a Sacrifice*
Falls He, *whoſe Deeds muſt Him* Immortalize!

REjoice *Meſſieures*; *Netops* rejoice, 'tis true;
Ye *Philiſtines*, none will rejoice but *You*:
Loving

Loving of *All* He Dy'd; who Love *him* not
Now, have the Grace of *Publicans* forgot.
Our *Almanacks* foretold a great *Eclipſe*,
This they foreſaw not, of our *greater PHIPS*.
PHIPS our great *Friend*, our Wonder,
(and our Glory,
The Terror of our *Foes*, the World's rare
(Story.
England will Boaſt him too, whoſe Noble
(Mind
Impell'd by *Angels*, did thoſe *Treaſures* find.
Long in the Bottom of the *Ocean* laid,
Which her *Three Hundred Thouſand* Richer
(made.
By *Silver* yet ne'r Canker'd, nor defil'd
By *Honour*, nor Betray'd when *Fortune* ſmil'd.
Since this bright *Phœbus* viſited our Shoar,
We ſaw no *Fogs*, but what were rais'd before:
Thoſe vaniſh'd too; harras'd by Bloody *Wars*
Our Land ſaw *Peace*, by his moſt generous
(Cares.
The *Wolviſh Pagans*, at his dreaded Name,
Tam'd, ſhrunk before him, and his Dogs be-
(came!
Fell *Moxus* and fierce *Dockawando* fall,
Charm'd at the Feet of our Brave General.

Fly-blow the *Dead*, Pale *Envy*, let him not
(What *Hero* ever did?) eſcape a Blot.

All

All is *Diſtort* with an *Inchanted Eye*,
And *Heighth* will make what's *Right* ſtill ſtand
(*awry*.
He *was*, oh that *He was!* His *Faults* we'l
(tell,
Such *Faults* as theſe we *knew*, and *lik'd* them
(well.

Juſt, to an Injury; denying none
Their Dues; but *Self denying* oft his own.

Good, to a Miracle; reſolv'd to do
Good unto All, whether they would or no.
To make *Us* Good, Great, Wiſe, and all
(Things elſe,
He wanted but the *Gift of Miracles*.
On Him, vain *Mob*, thy Miſchiefs ceaſe to
(throw;
Bad, but alone in *This*; the *Times* were ſo.

Stout to a Prodigy; living in Pain
To ſend back *Quebeck-Bullets* once again.
Thunder, his Muſick, ſweeter than the
(Spheres,
Chim'd Roaring *Canons*, in his Martial Ears.
Frigats of armed Men could not withſtand,
'Twas try'd, the Force of his one *Swordleſs*
(*Hand*:
Hand, which in one, all of *Briareus* had,
And *Hercule*'s twelve *Toyls* but *Pleaſures* made.

Too *Humble*; in brave *Stature* not ſo Tall,
As low in *Carriage*, ſtooping unto all.
Rais'd in Eſtate, in Figure, and Renown,
Not *Pride*; *Higher*, and yet not *Prouder*
(grown.
Of *Pardons* full; ne'r to *Revenge* at all,
Was that which He would *Satisfaction* call.

True to his Mate; from whom though of-
(ten flown.
A Stranger yet to every Love but *one*.
Write Him not *Childleſs*, whoſe whole Peo-
(ple were
Sons, *Orphans* now, of His Paternal Care.

Now leſt *ungrateful Erands* we ſhould in-
(cur,
Your Salary we'll Pay in *Tears*, GREAT
(SIR!

To *England* often blown, and by his
(Prince
Often ſent laden with *Preferments* thence.
Preferr'd each Time He went, when all was
(done
That *Earth* could do, Heaven fetch'd Him to
(a Crown.

'Tis

'Tis *He:* with *Him* Interr'd how great de-
(ſigns!
Stand Fearleſs now, ye *Eaſtern Firrs* and
(*Pines.*
With *Naval Stores* not to enrich the Nati-
(on,
Stand, for the *Univerſal Conflagration.*
Mines, opening unto none but Him, now ſtay
Cloſe under Lock and Key, till the Laſt Day:
In this, like to the *Grand Aurifick Stone*,
By any but *Great Souls* not to be known.
And Thou Rich Table, with *Bodilla* loſt,
In the Fair *Galeon*, on our *Spaniſh* Coaſt.
In weight Three Thouſand, and Three Hun-
(dred Pound,
But of Pure Maſſy Gold, ly *Thou*, not found.
Safe, ſince *He*'s laid under the *Earth* aſleep,
Who learnt where Thou doſt under *Water*
(keep.

But Thou Chief loſer, Poor *NEW-ENG-*
(*LAND* ſpeak
Thy Dues to ſuch as did thy *welfare ſeek*,
The Governour that vow'd to *Riſe and*
(*Fall*
With Thee, *Thy* Fate ſhows in *His* Fune-
(ral.

Write now *His* Epitaph, 'Twill be *Thine* (*own*,
Let it be this; *A PUBLICK SPIRIT's* (*GONE*.
Or, but Name *PHIPS*; more needs not be (expreſt,
Both *Englands*, and next *Ages* tell the Reſt.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

FINIS.

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